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CONTENTS

EDITORIAL 122

JOHN S. COFFMAN AS AN EVANGELIST 123
John Umble

EXTRACTS FROM J. S. COFFMAN'S DIARIES 147
Barbara F. Coffman

PIETER CORNELISZ PLOCKHOY: AN APOSTLE OF THE COLLEGIANTS 161
Irvin B. Horst

PLOCKHOY AND HIS SETTLEMENT AT ZWAANENDAEL, 1663 186
Leland Harder

BOOK REVIEW 200
Sanford Calvin Yoder, *Down South America Way*
Reviewed by Willard H. Smith

EDITORIAL

FIFTY YEARS AGO THIS MONTH THE EARTHLY CAREER OF ONE OF THE GREAT men of American Mennonite history was cut short by an early death at the age of fifty, but the harvest of his greatness is still being reaped by the church he served so well. John S. Coffman (1848-1899) labored better than he knew, and today after fifty years the significance of his life and ministry loom increasingly larger. He was not alone in his leadership, but without doubt he was the chief agent of the Great Awakening of the Mennonite Church (Mennonite General Conference) that came to pass in the generation before the first World War and which produced the church of today. From a quiescent, retarded, non-missionary, self-contained and largely self-satisfied unorganized group torn by inner conflicts and strains, to an activated, united, organized and aggressive body possessed of a sense of mission and busy in the ministry of evangelism and Christian service—this is the history of the Mennonite Church in America since 1880. The times needed a man and that man was provided in the person of John S. Coffman, a gift of God.

1948 and 1949, the centennial of Coffman's birth and the semi-centennial of his death, have been the occasion of two noteworthy celebrations, the former at Harrisonburg, Virginia, the region of his youth, sponsored by the Eastern Mennonite College, and the latter at Goshen, Indiana, the region of his mature service, sponsored by Goshen College. The addresses given at Harrisonburg have been published in the January, 1949 issue of the journal *The Christian Ministry*. The REVIEW is happy to present one of the addresses given at Goshen, "John S. Coffman as an Evangelist," by John Umble. This thorough paper, together with the "Extracts from J. S. Coffman's Diaries," by Barbara Coffman, a granddaughter, give a thorough account and excellent picture of what was undoubtedly the major activity through which Coffman made his rich contribution.

THE SECOND HALF OF THE CURRENT NUMBER OF THE "REVIEW" IS DEVOTED to an unusual character in Mennonite history whose significance not only lies in a much different area, but also is far less. In fact it is doubtful whether Pieter Cornelisz Plockhoy has any meaning at all for Mennonite history. Certainly not in America, for the colony which he established in 1663 in Delaware, was in no sense a Mennonite colony, even if some of the colonists were Mennonites, and in any case it lasted but two short years. And in Holland Plockhoy was more a Collegiant than a Mennonite. Plockhoy may have some significance in the history of social and political thought both in England and America but his ideas themselves derive from other sources than his Mennonite background. The REVIEW is fortunate, however, to be able to present in this issue two scholarly papers which perhaps exhaust the subject, and tell the whole story of Plockhoy so far as it can be told. For the article by Leland Harder we are indebted to the Delaware Historical Society for kind permission to reprint from its quarterly journal.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Vol. XXIII No. 3

JOHN S. COFFMAN AS AN EVANGELIST

JOHN UMBLE

Materials for the study of John S. Coffman[1] as an evangelist are very meager. Such a study must depend almost entirely on Coffman's diary since printed materials are almost nonexistent. M. S. Steiner's biography of J. S. Coffman contains a chapter on Coffman as an evangelist based on interviews, letters, and recollections of Coffman's contemporaries but very little effort is made even there to present a scientific study of his preaching.[2]

This is true not only of John S. Coffman but of other Mennonite preachers. We know where they were born, who their parents were, where they lived, whom and when they married, how many children they had, when they died, official positions they held, what their major contribution was in the church-wide program. But of their preaching we know very little. We know how many sermons some of them preached, to be sure, how many converts they had, how many members were added to their congregation, and sometimes we know how many they lost. But of their actual preaching we know very little. What themes did they use? What changes did their preaching undergo through the years? How did

[1] John S. Coffman, outstanding 19th century leader in the Mennonite Church, was born near Harrisonburg Virginia, Oct. 16, 1848, and died at Elkhart, Indiana, July 22, 1899.

[2] Other studies of John S. Coffman may be found in *The Christian Ministry,* II (April 1949). Pages 111-118 contain an address by Paul Erb on the subject, "John S. Coffman as an Evangelist." Barbara F. Coffman's article "Extracts From J. S. Coffman's Diary," in the present issue of THE MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW,

they prepare and present their message? What response did their preaching win from their hearers? Did they gain this response by a holy life, by their pulpit manner, by the mode of presentation? By logic or by persuasion? What was the nature of their response and how is it to be evaluated?

No such study of John S. Coffman's preaching has been printed. Nor has such a study been printed of any other Mennonite preacher or evangelist. Not only has no such study been printed of a Mennonite preacher; no such study has been made of any rural preaching. In 1945 a committee of the World Council of Churches that compiled a book on "The Christian Mission Among Rural People," stated after exhaustive research that they had found "no books or articles dealing with preaching in the rural church."

We have biographical studies of rural ministers, sociological, economic, and historical studies of communities and congregations but not a single printed rhetorical study of a Mennonite preacher; that is, we have no complete study of his audience, his message, his presentation or the audience response.

In presenting the results of my study of "John S. Coffman as an Evangelist" I do so with deep humility. I know that I have neither the training in rhetorical analysis nor adequate material for such a study of Coffman. I am sure that all of us are happy to know that we are beginning to have young men who are trained in the research techniques for such a study and we are looking forward with hopeful expectancy to the early completion of the first such study by one of our own number.[3]

Before we can evaluate the work of John S. Coffman as an evangelist, it probably would be necessary for us to turn back to the Mennonite Church in the early nineteenth century. It is next to impossible for young Mennonites in 1949 to imagine the Mennonite Church of their great-grandparents. The years have brought the following that they did not have: English preaching every Sunday morning instead of a German service every second, third or fourth Sunday; a sermon not only for adults, but actually also primary and junior church; the beginnings of a trained ministry; Sunday school with trained teachers and appropriate literature; hymns that all can learn to sing; Y.P.M. and other evening meetings; special

[3] Subsequent to the date of the delivery of this address, the doctoral dissertation of Roy Herman Umble, of Goshen College, on "Mennonite Preaching," was accepted by a committee of the Graduate School of Northwestern University. Chapter III of his dissertation contains a brief biography of John S. Coffman, an analysis of Coffman's preaching, and a critical and rhetorical analysis of one of his addresses.

services and special speakers on special occasions; revival meetings and various types of prayer service; Christian Workers Conferences; home and foreign missions; voluntary service units; and now even Mennonite Youth Fellowship, and three colleges and two seminaries to train young people for service. English has become so common a language among us that we have almost forgotten that our forefathers attended church services conducted entirely in the German language.

In order to understand some of the trials of John S. Coffman as an evangelist it is necessary to wave the magic wand of the imagination to reconstruct the Mennonite church service of seventy-five years ago when he was ordained. If one's name is Blosser or Nunemaker or Rutt or Detweiler or Landis or Brubaker, his forefathers were attending service in a plain box-like building, taking part in a German preaching service—no religious service of any kind but German preaching, praying, singing, every two weeks on Sunday. If one's name is Zook or Graber or Stoltzfus or Miller or Yoder or Bontrager, his forefathers were seated in the home of a neighbor with fellow members of the congregation taking part in very much the same kind of service. In either group, however, there were self-appointed watchers to see to it that nothing new was brought into the service or the discipline, even in the way of announcing a hymn or tying the cap strings. One's spiritual life might be at a low ebb, but so long as his hair was of the correct cut and length and his trousers were secured in a certain way he carried some of the necessary marks of being in good fellowship.[4] No English preaching, no service of any kind except the regular Sunday morning service, no formal religious instruction for young people except for those of mature age who had asked to unite with the church!

It is difficult, if not impossible, for twentieth century Mennonite youth to imagine such a congregation. Probably the best method for studying Mennonite and Amish preaching of this early period is to visit an Old Order Mennonite (Wisler) or Amish service of today. They conduct their services as all Mennonites and Amish did one hundred years ago. The minister uses no notes. He depends, at least in theory, on direct inspiration. The minister or deacon who opens the meeting speaks extemporaneously. Then the sermon, following a long silent prayer, is a running comment on the chapter which ritual or custom prescribes for the service for

[4] This is not spoken in a spirit of irreverence or facetiousness. God forbid! It is merely a fact that John S. Coffman found to be true over and over again.

that day or occasion. Sometimes in the course of such reading and comment the minister reads a verse or two, hesitates, smiles apologetically, looks up and says, "Now those are beautiful verses and one could say many beautiful things on them if it would be given to him. But (another pause), nothing is given to me." Then with another apologetic smile, he proceeds with his reading and comments on the next verse.

This method of preaching frequently led to preaching by rote, to the repetition of phrases and the employment of vocal rhythms learned from older ministers. The young minister would finally commit such phrases to memory and practice them as he went about his farm work in the field. Although much of the preaching had a decidedly emotional quality, the Mennonite minister was a quietist rather than a pietist. He emphasized a quiet simplicity, sincerity, and honesty in all human relationships and obedience to the Word of God rather than a heart experience. This may be one reason why the Mennonite congregations lacking strong leadership and constructive teaching were peculiarly susceptible to the pietistic emphasis of the German Evangelicals, the United Brethren, River Brethren and Dunkards. Some entire congregations were swept into one or the other of these denominations. John S. Coffman learned of many such cases in the course of his travels.

Then again young people of Mennonite parentage bestowed their loyalties on secular pursuits that led them away from the traditional pattern of Mennonite rural life. Some of them satisfied the gregarious instinct by uniting with a secret lodge. Many were swept into other communions during a revival meeting conducted by the more pietistic groups—churches that the Mennonite and Amish forefathers referred to as the worldly churches because in dress and in the observance of certain ordinances they had adopted liberal views and observances at variance with Mennonite belief and practice. As a result where there should have been growing, thriving Mennonite congregations, the faithful aged pilgrims were being gathered to their fathers in the near-by cemetery and no young people took their place on the benches in the plain little Mennonite meetinghouse. This was a matter of deep concern and heartache to John S. Coffman.

Research has discovered two opposite opinions of Mennonite preaching before the middle of the nineteenth century. John Risser, a Mennonite minister from the Bavarian Palatinate who moved to Richland County, Ohio, in 1831, complained regarding the local ministers that "their sermons offer absolutely nothing but a lament-

ing learned by rote so that each Sunday service one must hear the same again and again without even having the lamentation presented in slightly different words." Twenty years later Risser stated that young people receive no catechetical instruction during their formative years, that the ministers have no special schooling and that they do not approve of preparing a sermon prior to the service.

A more complimentary report of Mennonite preaching is found in the memoirs of a German Methodist in Richland County, Ohio. Most of his neighbors were Pennsylvania German Mennonites. He states that his neighbors were so helpful to him in everything that he felt quite at home among them, that he often visited their regular church services in the neighborhood, and that many of them were very good Christians who took seriously the matter of working out their soul's salvation. He says nothing about the local ministers but concludes his comment with the sentence: "In particular I became acquainted with several of their preachers who came from a distance from time to time and under whose preaching I was much edified."

Some of the better Amish and Mennonite preachers were men of fine consecration, broad Scriptural knowledge, and of generally acknowledged speaking ability. But preachers were chosen from the laity, many of them after middle life. Some were very poorly qualified for service in the pulpit. Their sermons failed to reach the young people or the children. Many young people and children seldom attended the Sunday morning service and even some parents endured rather than enjoyed the biweekly or monthly German sermon. Many sermons were an uninspiring, uninforming recital of oft-repeated phrases that referred in a negative manner to some pet hobby in connection with the regulations or restrictions of the church.

The few opinions on contemporary Mennonite preaching as found in J. S. Coffman's diary are revealing. Of one minister he says, "His talk was interesting and plain, sometimes half-amusing, very blunt, very disconnected." And of another, "He speaks many good things but might hold more to his subject." After his first visit to an Amish Mennonite congregation that had recently left the Old Order and built a meetinghouse, he confides to his diary: "Their ways and their preaching were of the oldest forms. Their preaching was not very able or logical or instructive but they told much truth. Some wrong shades of thought were brought out for want of better enlightenment or information. [The bishop] preached and may be called rather a good speaker."

No services of any kind were held for the children or the young people in these early days. Even the structure of the meetinghouses, one large room and two very small ones, showed that they were intended only for preaching and for counsel. The main room was a bare auditorium with uncomfortable benches. One of the small rooms was a retiring room for the mothers and their babies. The other, the preacher's room, served as a counsel room for the ministers before the service and during such periods when they retired into it to receive the vote of members as they entered one by one to register an opinion, a protest, or a preference when some matter was up for decision. Since holding services only in the morning was a time-honored custom, J. S. Coffman's special meetings in the evening were bitterly opposed in most sections.

Certain other customs tended to make Coffman's work difficult and in some cases quite ineffective. Mennonites, unlike the Amish, failed to dress their children in the plain garb worn by their parents. In many communities sons of Mennonite parents wore gold watch fobs, flashy ties, fancy vests, stiff hats, and a mustache. Young women wore hats and whatever fashion dictated. Then after marriage they were expected to unite with the church and adopt the plain simple garb of their parents, a much plainer, more specifically prescribed garb than that worn by Mennonites today. Coffman stated concerning several Mennonite congregations that worldliness was strongly intrenched. He told the young people near Waterloo, Indiana, rather pointedly that if they wished to unite with the Mennonite church they must practice simplicity and nonconformity. He complained that some young people wished to unite with the Mennonite Church, but wished to bring their worldliness into the church with them. Daniel Shenk, of Denbigh, Virginia, told Daniel Kauffman in 1913 that John S. Coffman once wrote him "that too many people throw little pebbles at the evil beast of pride and extravagance in dress which only aggravate it. 'What we need,' he said, 'is huge stones hurled upon it with terrific force.' "

Another reason for the decline of the Mennonite Church and an added difficulty in Coffman's work was a certain critical spirit among Mennonites. Some of the sterling virtues of both Mennonites and Amish, their honesty, simplicity, and strict obedience to the Word, became distorted into outspoken criticism of ministers and fellow members, devotion to minor and even nonessential details of form and practice, and a loss of emphasis on the more fundamental characteristics and attitudes of the Christian believer. Young people in Mennonite homes heard too much of the unpleas-

ant aspects of church discipline, of the shortcomings of members, and of the faults and failures of ministers, to be attracted to the Mennonite Church. In an article in the *Gospel Herald* in 1889, John S. Coffman closes with the sentence, "Speaking ill of the members, especially the minister, in the presence of the children and the young people is one reason why many a father and mother of the [Mennonite] brotherhood can say, 'Not one of my children belongs to the church.' "

Naturally the causes for the decline of Mennonite and Amish Mennonite congregations were many and they varied in different communities, but by 1880 many Mennonite churches were moribund. Some were already gone. Between 1870 and 1880 in spite of strenuous efforts on the part of John F. Funk, John M. Brenneman, George Brenneman, and others to move the church unitedly toward a more progressive program, two schisms occurred. The condition in Elkhart County, Indiana, where the leaders lived may be taken as representative of what was happening in a number of different communities to a greater or lesser degree.

In the western part of Elkhart County, Bishop Jacob Wisler and a strong following of laymen decided against English preaching and Sunday school. They no doubt honestly thought that the way to preserve the Mennonite Church in its purity was to insist on obedience to and observance of the old rules and customs, even though it meant the loss of the larger part of the membership. In the same congregation, however, another group led by the progressive, able young minister, Daniel Brenneman, formerly of Fairfield County, Ohio, grew impatient with the slow progress being made in the Mennonite Church in adapting the services to the needs of the young people and in an aggressive evangelistic program. He promoted a program of prayer meetings, revival meetings, and a more emotional type of church service and worship. These two movements, the one radically conservative and the other recklessly progressive, affected practically the entire Mennonite church in the Middle West and Canada. Many of the small congregations in northern Ohio followed Wisler and were called "Wislers." At least ten of these are now extinct. Those who held to Funk's more progressive program were called "the Funks" after John F. Funk of Elkhart, Indiana, leader of the progressive faction. In Medina County the Wislers called them the "sinful Funks" and locked them out of the meetinghouse. The followers of Brenneman left the church, organized new congregations and built new meetinghouses often near the meetinghouse of the parent organization.

Although the majority of the Mennonite church kept a middle course, both the Wisler and the Brenneman movements retarded the necessary forward progress of the Mennonite Church. Coffman's program of evangelism was at first delayed and later obstructed by both movements. Many struggling, already dying Wisler churches closed their doors to evangelistic efforts and even forbade their members to attend Coffman's meetings. The Brenneman schism, on the other hand, made many progressive Mennonites suspicious and fearful of Coffman. "Give him time," some said, "and he will follow in the footsteps of Brenneman. He uses many of the same methods; the end will be the same. He and his 'converts' soon will be out of the Mennonite Church."

Except for the unfortunate division in the Yellow Creek church referred to above and the violent reaction in the Mennonite Church against the more emotional type of service promoted by Brenneman, evangelistic services in the Mennonite Church probably would have been accepted almost a decade sooner than they were. As early as 1872 John F. Funk and Daniel Brenneman had conducted revival services with good success at the Masontown church in Pennsylvania, but after the Brenneman schism it did not seem safe for John F. Funk to conduct evangelistic services.

Conditions mentioned above made Mennonites an easy prey to proselyting influences. In Ashland County, Ohio, an important element of two Mennonite congregations united with the River Brethren and the United Brethren, many became discouraged and moved away, remnants of three former Mennonite congregations united with Presbyterians, Methodists, and Reformed to organize a Lutheran church. Near Sterling, Illinois, the young people refused to wear the somber garb of their Mennonite fathers and mothers and united with the Lutheran Church in Sterling which became the leading church in that city. In Morgan County, Missouri, and in other points throughout the West, Mennonites were scattered, congregations were small, and the Mennonite young people being honest, reliable, and industrious were eagerly sought as leaders in other denominations and in various political and civic organizations. The same was true in southwestern Pennsylvania where the Harmony Church and the Stonerville Church lost their young people to other denominations.

Although the Middle West and Virginia were organizing and supporting Sunday schools, Eastern Pennsylvania was holding back because no Mennonite Sunday school helps were available. Even in the Middle West, however, dissatisfaction was arising because

of an insistent demand on the part of the young people in various sections for the introduction of English classes in the German Sunday schools. In Ohio, in Missouri, in parts of Illinois, and even in certain sections of Pennsylvania, the demand for the use of the English language in Sunday school was causing difficulty and even church division.

Into this situation came John S. Coffman with his cautiously progressive program of evangelistic services. This was the Mennonite Church and her lost young people, "the audience," to whom he brought his message of salvation by grace and to whom he taught in a new way the Scriptural foundation of her doctrines and principles.

Coffman had been baptized in Muddy Creek near the Bank Church not far from Harrisonburg, Virginia, on July 4, 1864, had become a schoolteacher, and on July 18, 1875, was ordained to the ministry. During the early years of his ministry he seems not to have been an outstanding speaker. He found preaching rather difficult, especially when he had made no special preparation. As he himself said, he "found it hard work." In the beginning of the third year of his ministry he labored under a consciousness of increasing responsibility on church matters. During this and the following year he began to feel the necessity of making a direct effort to bring souls into the kingdom. His first preaching tour took him into West Virginia. The next year he visited Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Apparently friends who knew him, who knew of his preaching and who wished English preaching, invited him to settle in the West. It seems that friends in Kansas tried to persuade him to move to that state in 1878 and in the winter of 1879 he nearly decided to emigrate to Illinois.

Just why he considered moving west is not quite clear, but it may have been brought about in part by the general movement toward the West following the depression years of 1873 and following. At all events in the spring of 1879 he accepted John F. Funk's proposition to move to Elkhart, Indiana, as associate editor of *The Herald of Truth.* Funk had offered to pay him $500 a year and to secure a residence for him. When, on his arrival, Coffman purchased a home south of Elkhart, he was in debt something more than $1,700. He at once took up his editorial duties and wrote a number of articles on doctrinal subjects which brought varied responses from the exchanges. He evidently decided to use his influence through the *Herald* in indoctrinating the brotherhood and in meeting several attacks which had been made on the Mennonite

position on baptism, nonconformity, and nonresistance. One of the outstanding contributions that Coffman made during his term as assistant editor was the careful statement and Scriptural defense of distinctive doctrines of the Mennonite church. This no doubt was one of the factors that won for him the confidence of some of the more conservative elements in the church.

Interested as Coffman was in his editorial duties, he soon felt that work of a more personal nature was necessary to reach the young people of the church. During 1880, as is recorded in his diary, he began to feel a growing burden for evangelism. This burden seems to have been of a two-fold nature. He was convinced that the principles and the doctrines of the Mennonite church were soundly Biblical, based on the teachings of Jesus and the apostles, and he wished to do everything in his power to build up the church that was teaching and observing these doctrines and principles in their purity. In the second place he had an intense longing to see lost sinners saved and brought into the church. He could see on every side evidence that the church was failing in both of these responsibilities. There was a great deficiency in teaching the doctrines and principles of the church as Biblical principles and not merely as rules and regulations of the church. And without a sustained effort to win the young people to Christ, the church was failing to extend the invitation successfully.

He felt that the Mennonite church was insisting merely on obedience. Obedience, why? Because the Word gave it as a command of God. Or because, also, the church and the ministers who were God's representatives on earth, taught the commandments and enforced obedience by strict disciplinary measures! Coffman also taught obedience, obedience to the commandments and ordinances, the rules and regulations of the church, but with this distinction: he explained the meaning and use of the ordinances. On more than one occasion he records in his diary the sermon topic "Baptism," then adds the comment "treated not as a duty but its meaning and use." He dealt with the other ordinances and with the distinctive doctrines of the Mennonite church, nonresistance and nonconformity, in the same way.

Because of his success in explaining the ordinances, he often was called upon to preach the communion or baptismal sermon. In fact, his first "series" of evangelistic meetings was introduced by a Sunday communion service preceded by Saturday evening preaching. For the Saturday evening sermon Coffman used the text, "Eating and Drinking Unworthily," evidently for a prepara-

tory service or counsel meeting. Then in the evening following the communion service he preached from I Timothy 1:15 explaining, "From What We are Saved." Interest was so good that services were announced for the following evening. Text, Luke 14:15-23, "Come" and "Excuses." This was followed by a meeting on Tuesday evening, text, Matthew 11:28-30, "Manner of Coming to Jesus." At the end of this short series of meetings baptismal services were held at 10:00 a.m. the following day and that evening he preached the last sermon, "Growing in Christ." On this occasion several young people requested that the baptismal service should be in English. Consequently he, although not a bishop, baptized six of the converts himself.

This first series of meetings is significant in a number of respects, but chiefly because it established the pattern of many of his services: (1) teaching (2) invitation (3) explanation of the manner of coming into the kingdom, (4) instruction for the young converts. This pattern, logical but simple, he followed with variations in many of his later series of evangelistic meetings.

Some of the reasons which induced J. S. Coffman to undertake his program of evangelization in the early eighties have already been mentioned. Several other possible contributing ideas might be pointed out. After he moved to Elkhart in 1879 to assist in editorial work, he was in close touch with John F. Funk who probably knew more about conditions in the Mennonite church at that time than any other living person. Funk had been in close association with John M. Brenneman whose period of usefulness came to an end in the late 70's on account of paralysis. Brenneman, although greatly limited in educational opportunities, had done a valuable piece of work in strengthening the church. Coffman had Funk's tenacious devotion to the Mennonite Church and his firm belief that the principles on which the Mennonite Church was founded were the eternal principles of the Word of God. But he had also an intense love for people, people of all ages and conditions. Like his Master, he could not bear that "any should perish."

His deep concern for his own family no doubt intensified his interest in other young people. On one occasion he wrote in his diary, "My mind is much taken up with the evangelizing work and especially have I been considering how we can get our young people in Elkhart to make a start in the Christian life. Over this I have thought and wept and prayed and I look to God for direction in this matter." A short time before, he had written, "It looks as though I am pressed more and more into this evangelistic work,"

then he added, "May the Lord provide for me financially that I come not into contempt on account of my indebtedness." A few days later he again wrote, "This evening after working hours I remained in the office alone reading and praying that the Lord would lead and bless the effort we have seen best to make in a few meetings here at Elkhart."

Although these lines were written several years after he began his first evangelistic efforts, they represented the spirit and the emphasis that directed all of his work. His interest in young and old and his devotion to the Mennonite Church became an intense passion.

Usually before beginning a series of meetings he was much in prayer and spent many hours preparing sermons. One of the striking features of his sermons was a certain intellectual presentation of truth, but truth presented so simply and plainly and convincingly that he seldom was troubled with lack of attention in a meeting. On a very few occasions he mentions that he found it necessary to rebuke inattentiveness and disturbance. His approach to any subject always was constructive. In discussing an ordinance, for instance, he dwelt on the meaning and use rather than the mode or the duty of observing it. He usually explained that water baptism will not take away sin, make a consecration or initiate into one body of Christ. But it is a symbol of the Holy Spirit baptism and a spiritual consecration of God.

After he had been conducting meetings for several years he sometimes turned the evening meeting into a teaching exercise instead of preaching a sermon. On a number of occasions, for instance, when he took up the subject of conversion he had the congregation read texts from the Bible and then he would comment on each of the texts and close the meeting with a general talk on the subject. Sometimes he had the congregation read many texts in much the same way that the later Bible conferences were conducted. Time after time his diary records that he conducted a Bible reading in a home during his visitation work in connection with evangelistic services. Sometimes he records that he turned the meeting into a "kind of Bible reading." His son, S. F., sometimes conducted these Bible readings for his father before the sermon. According to Bishop S. F. Coffman these Bible readings were the direct predecessor of the Bible conference held widely in the Mennonite church a few years later. On at least one occasion Coffman wrote the outline for such a "Bible Reading" on the blackboard of the schoolhouse in the afternoon in preparation for the evening service.

Before beginning a series of meetings he would spend considerable time with the leaders talking over the situation and making an attempt to understand conditions in the congregation and in the community. Such a conference with the ministers would give them an opportunity also to give a word of caution, help him to avoid mistakes in conducting the meeting as well as preventing the giving of offense to the more conservative members. Before he began his remarkable series of meetings in Canada in February, 1892, he wrote, "I am leaving for the field of labor in Canada with good courage but feel deeply the need of grace and divine direction." After his meeting with the ministers, he records that he received many cautions to work in a way to build up the church rather than to break it down. Since many of the Canadian congregations in Ontario had suffered serious loss during the Brenneman difficulty, they were extremely suspicious of any kind of evangelistic service.

During the first series of meetings in Canada, it was necessary at most places to hold only one meeting then pass on to the next church. A "series of meetings" was forbidden. At some of these churches he gave no invitation for converts to come forward. At Widemans he did not give the invitation until after he had held a number of meetings there, but when he finally gave an invitation to sinners, nine came out. At other churches, too, he would give an invitation only after he was certain that the ministers were willing and that there would be a response. In some congregations where there was deep-rooted prejudice because of the "mourner's bench," he did not pray with those who came forward, but visited them the next day to lead them into the Kingdom. He conducted himself so wisely during this series of meetings that he was invited back the next year. During this series extending from February 6 through March 24, 1891, he preached sixty-nine sermons and had the satisfaction of seeing ninety-nine converts in the western part of the district and twenty-nine in the eastern. Parents wept for joy as they saw their children deciding, under his preaching, to unite with the church. Some young people who had already united with some other church returned to the Mennonite church convinced, by Coffman's preaching and teaching, of the divine imperative of nonresistance and nonconformity not taught by other denominations. Such results won to his methods all but a very few of the ministers.

In nearly every section that he visited, he would record in his diary at the beginning of the series that "The house was not full" or "Attendance was fair" but during the last part of his trip he frequently wrote "Densely crowded house" or "Overflowing house,

some turned away," or even on one occasion "lobbies and aisles of the church standing full."

On the last evening of the meetings in Canada, the church in Berlin was crowded and Coffman enjoyed the meeting as one of the most pleasant of his life. In his characteristic manner of closing a series of meetings, he preached on Revelations 2, "Be Thou Faithful Unto Death." After the meeting he talked and shook hands with the people for more than an hour and had a most pleasant season of fellowship and spiritual rejoicing. After church he went to the home of Bishop Wismer who had had serious doubts about continued meetings. He reports in his diary "I had a long spirited talk over the situation here at Waterloo, but notwithstanding some difference of opinion we parted with all good brotherly feeling and confidence." Wismer still held some of his earlier doubts.

His technique in conducting meetings of this kind in a new neighborhood included several different elements. First, as mentioned before, he conducted long seasons of private prayer and prepared his sermon outlines with great care. Then on arriving at the place where the meetings were to be held he would meet with the leaders and ministers and if they would not come to him he would go to them. He found out everything that he could about local conditions, the attitude of the church toward conducting meetings, their response to having more than one meeting at the church, their attitude toward extending an invitation, and their wishes in regard to his dealing with converts when they came forward. In many places, for instance, he would not have prayer with the converts, but in the presence of the minister would instruct them to go home, study their Bibles, and pray. He often turned a visit in a home into a prayer meeting. On one occasion in summing up a series of meetings he stated that he had preached forty-four sermons and had "held probably twice that number of prayer services in private homes." His sermons always contained an element of instruction and by their intellectual quality captured the attention of the more thoughtful element in his audience.

Many times he worked under the most trying, most discouraging conditions. Many calls for evangelistic preaching seem to have come to him from laymen who lived in widely scattered areas in the South and West. On some such occasions he was forced to depend on ministers and members of other denominations for a preaching place, or the meeting was held in some schoolhouse poorly suited for church services. On more than one occasion he preached in Baptist or Methodist or Brethren churches. In one western com-

munity on a second visit, members of the Church of the Brethren refused him permission to preach in their church because on his earlier visit he had presented Mennonite teaching with regard to baptism. His tours took him to many out-of-the-way places where train connections were poor, and hotels unsanitary. Even the homes of some Mennonites whom he visited were not well arranged to accommodate visitors, but he never complained. So long as he had an opportunity to proclaim the Gospel and especially if there was some response to his efforts, he felt amply rewarded for whatever inconveniences he was called upon to suffer.

Sometimes he was forced to work with ministers of other denominations under conditions which he considered far from ideal. At Waterloo, Indiana, the congregation was nearly gone. Some of the young people had united with other congregations; many were members of no church but would have united with the Mennonite Church if they had been allowed to bring a considerable amount of worldliness into the church with them. The congregation had no Sunday school but some of the members assisted in the Union Sunday School where most of the officers and teachers were members of other churches. When the meetings began there was little interest. One day he met with so many difficulties and so much opposition that he wrote, "I am tired before I get to church this evening." Finally, however, his efforts bore fruit and fourteen converts were the visible result of his work. When the converts met for instruction, however, one of them insisted on immersion. Hence, on Sunday morning at the baptismal service he had charge of part of the service and was followed by the minister of the Dunkard Church because one of the converts desired to be baptized by immersion and unite with the Dunkard Church. He states that this is the first time that he ever saw two denominations work together in that way. This, however, is not the only instance that shows Coffman's broadmindedness. On another occasion he advised one of his converts to unite with the Dunkard Church because he gathered from certain statements that she made that she was "really a Dunkard in points of doctrine."

Great-hearted, self-effacing, guileless though he was, he was not always accepted, but met with many rebuffs, sharp and cruel. His refined cultured manner (the heritage of a Southern gentleman), his ease in conversation, and his polished use of the English language won him friends whose admiration and loyalty were almost the equivalent of adoration. In Sterling, Illinois, and in many other places the leaders of the church loved him devotedly.

But in some circles his social graces actually stood in the way of his acceptance. He was "proud," these critics said; he was "stuck up;" he "put on airs."

In some sections Amish Mennonites who still clung tenaciously to the German language accused him of trying to proselyte, of causing trouble in the church by trying to lead the young people away from the church of their fathers. The simple facts were that the young people had not been attracted to the local congregation because the service offered them not even a sermon that they could understand. Some begged to be allowed to conduct their Sunday-school class in English, but that also was refused. In Logan County, Ohio, after a group of Amish Mennonite young people had refused to accept Christ in evangelistic meetings conducted by Daniel Johns and John F. Funk unless they would be permitted to unite with the Mennonite Church so that they could have English services, David Plank saved the situation by allowing them to make their confession in that manner. Then after they had been baptized into the Mennonite Church in Allen County, Coffman sometimes visited Logan County and held services in the South Union Church. One evening when he appeared there to fill a preaching appointment, he found the house locked. Thereafter he met them quietly in a service held in the home of one of the young people.

On another occasion after a successful series of meetings in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and Washington County, Maryland, some laymen in Lancaster County had invited him to try to hold evangelistic services, but when he arrived in the district he was informed that the bishops had decided that he could not hold meetings. He visited some of the ministers in their homes and felt that as individuals they agreed with his viewpoint, but he could hold no meetings. He remained in the community over Sunday, attended the regular service, and to his surprise was invited to preach. He records in his diary that his first reaction was to decline but on second thought he feared that they might feel that his refusal to preach would be interpreted as vindictiveness. His quiet, soul-stirring sermon made many wish that they might hear him again. He seems never to have harbored any ill will in the face of the most severe rebuff. He simply preached, preached salvation through faith in Jesus, and tried in every way to allay opposition and to bring souls to Christ. He was so firmly convinced that the very life of the Mennonite Church could be saved only by continued efforts to bring the young people of Mennonite families into the church that he allowed no misunderstanding or misrepresentation or personal indignity to swerve him from his course.

Coffman's evangelistic work was supported in part by donations from the Mennonite Evangelizing Board and in part by private gifts, but he seems to have paid his own traveling and living expenses on some evangelizing tours. As early as 1880 he had advocated a central board whose duty it would be to collect funds to send ministers out into home mission work among the scattered brethren in the West and South. In 1882 such a board was organized at Elkhart, Indiana, under the name of Mennonite Evangelizing Board. This board paid at least a part of his expenses. On one occasion he mentions that he cashed a twenty-five dollar draft sent by the Evangelizing Board. In return he was expected to submit a report of his tours. He often wrote a report on one phase of a tour before beginning with the next. Once, for instance, after he concluded a visit to the Shanks in Florida, he spent the greater part of a day writing his report before beginning at Roseland, Louisiana, the second part of that tour. Then he wrote a lengthy report of his work at Roseland, before going on to Tennessee. In his earlier diaries he kept a record of gifts in money received from individuals and congregations. Except for his tours in Canada these gifts were often pitiably small and certainly did not nearly pay his railroad fare. He usually traveled as economically as possible and on the few occasions when he traveled by chair car, he considered it necessary to justify the extra fare. Usually before beginning a western tour he spent hours in Chicago visiting railway officials in order to secure clergy rates over as many lines as possible. On one tour he carried low rate clergy permits over ten railroads in the Middle West. Even when he knew that his traveling expenses would be paid by the Evangelizing Board, he planned in every possible way to keep his expenses at a minimum.

Traveling here and there on evangelizing tours Coffman might be thought to have spent all of his time on his soul-saving, church-building mission. This was far from true. One needs to remember that although Coffman's major interest and activity was in what he called his "evangelizing work," yet he had many assignments and was called on constantly to serve in other areas of church life and organization. All of these, however, were more or less directly connected with or the result of evangelism. In the first place when he came to Elkhart in 1879, it was to serve as editorial assistant on the *Herald of Truth,* at a salary of $500 a year. But in the course of the next decade this became a minor interest. One year he spent only eighty-nine days in his work at the office of the Mennonite Publishing Company. His editorial work consisted of writing up

items, rewriting obituaries, articles, and poems for publication in the *Herald,* as well as writing editorials and original articles. He was an officer on the Evangelizing Board which was organized in 1882 to gather funds and furnish railroad fare to the ministers who were called to visit small struggling congregations and individual families of Mennonites living in out-of-the-way places.

In 1888 he was one of the editors of a new hymnbook entitled *Hymns and Tunes.* He did a tremendous amount of work on this little volume helping in company with A. B. Kolb to select both hymns and tunes. Kolb usually played the tunes and Coffman sang them. One day, for instance, they worked over about half of the *Harmonia Sacra* and selected many tunes. He found it a hard task to select music and hymns that are of the proper character "for our people and for all Christian people." Then the next year during July and August he spent much time reading proof. In addition to selecting hymns he also wrote several. His "Resting, Sweetly Resting" was a popular hymn for years. Two of his hymns are retained in the present *Church Hymnal.*

He also prepared a minister's manual. Apparently before 1890 Mennonite ministers had followed the same practice as Amish ministers, conducting the various rites of the church from memory as they had observed other bishops perform them or possibly committing them to memory from manuscript forms. Another added burden that Coffman carried on his evangelizing tours was making collections for the Mennonite Publishing Company. On one evangelizing trip in Canada he collected over $133 in subscriptions, payments on books, and materials of that kind. On this occasion the Publishing Company allowed him twenty per cent commission.

Somewhat later when the Elkhart Institute was organized he solicited students and funds for the institution. Many of the early students at the Elkhart Institute came on his recommendation and solicitation. After the reorganization of the Institute in 1895 under a board of Mennonite directors, when he was chosen president, he sold stock for the new corporation. It was distasteful to him to attempt to raise money, but as usual he gave up his personal preferences and dislikes for the good of the Cause. In 1895 he spent several weeks in Canada and came back with nearly $1,800 in cash and pledges for the new building. Many of the early students at the Elkhart Institute who came from Canada came as the direct result of his earnest personal solicitation.

One of his most exacting duties after 1889 was writing the first Mennonite Sunday School Lessons. During the first year they were

printed once a month. He would spend nearly a week writing out the lessons for the following month. Beginning in 1891 they were printed as a quarterly. He would spend approximately two weeks on a quarter's lessons, preparing the lessons for the second quarter during the first two weeks in January, for the third quarter during the first two weeks in April, and for the fourth quarter during the first two weeks in June. Then during the first two weeks in October he would write the lessons for the first quarter of the following year. He usually spent these two weeks in Elkhart, but sometimes if an urgent call came he would leave the lessons and attempt to prepare some of them while he was conducting meetings away from home.

Although it was necessary to follow a strict schedule in preparing the lessons for the quarterly, there were times when he would not permit the lessons to interfere with his work of evangelization. On one occasion when he was holding meetings in Elkhart during the two weeks that he usually spent on the lessons, he would work on the Sunday School Lessons until noon, visit the unconverted in their homes during the afternoon and hold services in the evening. On January 15, he wrote in his diary "This is the first evening I was at home for supper for two weeks." He either took supper with friends with whom he was discussing the meetings or simply fasted. He had begun meetings in Elkhart on January 2 and although this was the time for preparing his Sunday School Lessons, he was so much interested in the work of evangelization that personal evangelism and house to house visitation occupied all of his afternoons and evenings. Sometimes while he was working on the lessons he would take out time to prepare sermons for an evangelizing trip that was to follow during the next month or six weeks. On one occasion he wrote in his diary "I am not into my work here as I might be since I am preparing for my trip west. These visits to the churches take up so much of my time and interest that I cannot put my mind to the work of editing the paper in a way that is satisfactory to myself. Evangelism seems to be the one work laid on me at present." Somewhat earlier on January 1 he had written, "I began the year at work in the office of the Mennonite Publishing Company. It is my purpose if spared to work at intervals when I am at home on the editorial work of the *Herald,* but to spend the greater part of my time traveling and holding meetings."

He always dreaded leaving his family. On one occasion when he started for Tiskilwa, Illinois, he wrote, "I left home cheerfully though with a feeling of regret that I would likely be away from

my loved ones for five or six weeks. But my prayer is that if it is God's will to use me in the evangelizing work that I can go and be an instrument in building up His cause. Thy will be done is my constant prayer."

He did not return from this trip until December 24 and resumed work at the office on December 26. He was receiving constant calls to hold meetings east and west, north and south. Once after receiving a number of letters asking for meetings in the West and in the East he wrote, "There is a great work in this country for our people and not many laborers to do it. Our people see in many places that if they would build up they must hold continued meetings." He knew, however, that he was working too hard. Once after he and M. S. Steiner had had a discussion about needs in various fields that Steiner had visited as a representative of the Mennonite Publishing Company, Coffman wrote, "Last night I had a rather hard time. I could not rest or sleep on account of neuralgia or rheumatism in the stomach or breast. I had not been bothered with this for a long time. I have been overworked with the Sunday School Lessons in the day and meetings in the evening. I shall try to have a little more rest. It is God's will no doubt that we are to work and work hard, but it cannot be right to overwork. May I be kept from sin in this as in other things." On that day, however, he wrote Lesson 11 for the first quarter of the next year and on the following day he wrote Lesson 12.

Many times when he began the lessons for a quarter he found it difficult to begin. He sometimes spent two or three days on the first lesson and several days on the following and would complain that the work is difficult and that he was having difficulty concentrating on the lessons after being away from this type of work for nearly three months. But before he had been working on a quarter's lessons very long, he would become very enthusiastic about them and would comment in his diary about the truths he was learning and the Bible knowledge that he was gaining by this close application. No doubt his work on these Sunday School Lessons was of inestimable value to him in his preaching and teaching. On July 30, 1892, he wrote, "In studying and writing [these lessons] an impression has been made on my mind that all time cannot efface. No money could buy the little I learned in studying and writing the lessons of 1892. May God help me to use this knowledge for His glory and the salvation of souls as long as I live. Oh, for the zeal and the spirit today that possessed the early disciples as they went first into the work of the Gospel."

In that same year (1892) he started a month late (November 4) on the lessons for the first quarter, 1893. On that day he wrote "Began on Lesson 1. It goes somewhat hard to get my mind in frame to begin to write lessons after having been away from that work so long. May God give me grace and understanding that I may so select truth and (unto) [write?] comments and questions that the learners may get a correct understanding of the Lessons, not only to have a knowledge of them, but to be edified by them. It is God that giveth the grace and wisdom that we need for every good work." But on the next day he recorded ". . . finished the first lesson of the quarter."

By way of summary one might say that John S. Coffman popularized in the Mennonite Church a new type of effort to reach those who were outside the church. He did not copy, but adapted to the peculiar needs of the Mennonite Church, the techniques of the "revival meeting." He used the continued meeting for a sustained teaching ministry that the church needed for impressing the young people with the importance, meaning, and present-day application of the distinctive doctrines of the Mennonite Church. His activity in personal evangelism, visitation, prayer fellowship, and Biblical instruction in the home were a comparatively new departure in pastoral work among Mennonites. In most places it at first was disapproved as something "new," un-Mennonite.

He introduced a new type of preaching—not the "thou shalts" and "thou shalt nots" of earlier pessimistic exhortation presented in a traditional half-chanted style, but a reasoned discourse explaining the means of entrance into the Christian life and showing the Christian walk as a glorious fellowship with Jesus Christ with unlimited opportunities for service to mankind. His gentleness, his sincerity, and his deep spirituality won acceptance for him and his methods in many places where evangelism was sorely needed but had been considered dangerous if not actually worldly. He did not save all the dying churches. The hour was too late for that. But he saved many of them and his labors brought into the Mennonite Church a working force that continued and expanded the work for which he had laid a firm foundation. He interested many young people in the program of the church by convincing them that the faith of their fathers was based on the eternal Word of God and that it would meet the Christian's needs for victorious living in an unfriendly world.

Although he gave unstintingly of his time and energy to the program of evangelism in the Mennonite Church, his talents in

other fields made such insistent demands upon him that he was also a writer of editorials, reviser and editor of sermons, poems, articles, and obituary notices contributed for the *Herald of Truth,* editor of the first continuous series of English Mennonite Sunday School lesson helps, co-compiler of the first volume of *Hymns and Tunes* of the Mennonite Church, editor of a Mennonite *Ministers Manual,* leading supporter and virtual president of the first educational institution of the church, and responsible with others for the first home mission effort and Sunday School Conference held in the Mennonite Church. His method of preaching from blackboard outlines introduced the method of Biblical instruction and indoctrination later known as the Bible conference. All of these tasks, however, were connected with or the outgrowth of his work as an evangelist. For evangelism meant to him not only bringing the young convert into fellowship with Christ and His church through forgiveness of sin and water baptism but also introducing him into a worthy church fellowship where he could learn and grow, hear good sermons, sing the right kind of hymns, and be inspired with a vision of a service program worthy of his best talents and his fullest devotion.

APPENDIX A

Sermons of John S. Coffman, 1891

A list of Coffman's preaching appointments sometimes illustrates the opposition to "continued meetings." In many sections of the church no "series of meetings" could be announced, but the meetings were "continued" by moving from one meetinghouse to another in the same area. The atttiude of a congregation toward these concentrated efforts to bring the young people into the church can be determined with considerable accuracy by studying Coffman's record of sermons preached. The list below is complete only for public services at which he preached a sermon. It omits the many house services and Bible readings which did not take the form of public sermons. Judged by the record in his diary these exceeded the number of sermons in 1891.

January

4 Elkhart 2, Plains 1	3
10 Berlin (Eby's) Ont.	1
11 Berlin 2, Breslau 1	3
12 Wanner's	1
13 Hege's	1
14-17 Berlin	4
16 Bridgeport (Weaver's)	1
18 Latschaw's	1
18-19 Berlin	2
20 Upper Street (Shantz)	1
20 Berlin	1
21-24 Cressman's (Breslau)	4
25 Wanner's	1
25-27 Cressman's	3
28-30 Berlin	4
29 Blenheim, funeral	1
30 Breslau	1

February

1 Campden (Jordan, Ont.)	2
2-5 Moyer's (Jordan, Ont.)	4
4-5 Campden (Jordan, Ont.)	2
6-9 Blenheim (Waterloo)	6
15 Clinton Amish (Elkhart Co.)	2
16 Olive (funeral) (Elkhart Co.)	1
18 Olive (funeral) (Elkhart Co.)	1
21 Clinton Amish	1
22 Clinton Mennonite	1
22-23 Forks Amish	2
24-March 3 Forest Grove	11

March

4-10 Clinton	10
11 Clinton (Amish)	1
15 Elkhart	2
17 Dakota, Ill., 1 funeral	2
19-24 Sterling, Ill.	8
25-26 Penrose, Ill.	2
27-29 Sterling	5

April

2 Nappanee Amish	1
3 Nappanee Amish	1
5 Clinton Brick	1
12 Elkhart	2
10-19 Olive (Shaum's)	3
25-May 2 Elkhart	8

May

3 Olive	1
3-7 Elkhart	3
8-15 Riley Creek, O.	10
13 Good's and Salem-Elida	2

13 Amos Smith's house	1
14-15 Riley Creek, O.	2
16-17 Berlin, Ont.	2
17 Breslau Ont.	1
18 Berlin Ont.	1
19 Latshaw's Ont.	1
19 Upper Street	2
20 Biehn's, Geiger's, Blenheim	3
21-31 Campden and Moyer's	17
June	
1-7 Campden and Moyer's	9
8-14 South Cayuga, Ont.	8
15-23 Rainham, Ont.	11
24-28 Campden and Moyer's	4
July	
5 Elkhart, Ind.	1
12 Salem 1, Elkhart 1	2
19 Yellow Creek	2
20 Sugar Grove, Funeral Miller	1
26 Clinton 1, Elkhart 1	2
August	
2 Holdeman's	1
8-10 Cullom, Ill.	3
12 Sterling, Ill.	1
13-14 Morrison, Ill.	2
15-16 Sterling, Ill.	3
17-18 Freeport, Ill.	3
21 Elkhart, Mayhouse funeral	1
23 Elkhart	1
29-30 Mendon, Mo.	3
September	
1-6 Leeton, Mo.	7
8-13 Mt. Zion, Morgan Co., Mo.	8
15-16 Olathe, Kans., Hershey's S.H.	2
17-20 Belton, Mo.	5
21-25 Garden City, Mo.	6
27-Oct. 4 New Stark, O.	13
October	
18 Elkhart, Ind.	1
22 Clinton, funeral Sarah Garber	1
25 Holdeman's—John Shaum	2
27 Elkhart, funeral Mabel Needham	1
30-Nov. 1 Olive, Indiana	4
November	
2 Salem, Wayne Co., O.	2
3 Martin's, Wayne Co., O.	1
3 Pleasant Hill [View] Stark Co., O.	1
5-7 Casselman, Md.	4
8-13 Chestnut Spr., Somerset Co., Pa.	8
15-16 Bank, Va.	3
17 F. S. Rhodes and Mrs. McGuire	2
17-18 Mt. Clinton, Va.	3
19-20 Pike, Va.	3
21-22 Weaver's, Va.	3
23 Bank, Va.	1
24 Brenneman's, Va.	2
25 Zion, Va.	2
26 Brush-Trissel's, Va.	2
27 Edom, Va.	1
28 Brenneman's-Weaver's	2
29 Weaver's	2
December	
1 Mt. Pleasant, Va.	1
2 Hildebrands	1
3-4 Springdale, Va.	3
5-13 Fauquier, Va.	11
15-17 Baltimore Co., Long Green [Md.]	3
20 Elkhart, Ind.	2
25 Elkhart, Ind.	1
Total	331

APPENDIX B

The following list of texts with accompanying comments taken from Coffman's diary regarding the outline of the sermon and the response of the audience is an aid in presenting a somewhat clearer impression of his messages and the response. Most of the following are taken from his diary written during the slightly more than four weeks that he spent in Canada in January and February, 1891.

1. Text, John 3:17, "Condemnation." We had meeting at Berlin [Kitchener] this evening and had a well filled house and good interest. Not many members here but very many who are out that should be gathered in. May God help that they may be gathered into the fold and become workers in the good cause.

2. Text, Matthew 20:1-17, "Laborers in the Vineyard."

3. Text, II Kings 4:26, "It Is Well" (funeral).

4. Text, Matthew 16:18, "The Rock."

5. Text, Matthew 13:1-9, "Different Kinds of Soil." The best of attention. There are not very many members here and the young people are not in church.

6. Text, Hebrews 9:15, "Our Eternal Heritage" or "Inheritance."

7. The meeting was large, nearly a house full. Text, Romans 10:17, "Faith and the Difference Between Getting Faith and Faith in Us, How Faith Comes."

8. Had a full house this evening. Text, John 3:5, "Born of Water and of the Spirit, Regeneration." Good interest.

9. Text, I John 3:3, "Pure Through Jesus."

10. A full meeting this evening. Text, Luke 24:47, "Repentance."

11. The meeting was well attended, crowded. Text, Matthew 10:32 and 33, "Acceptance of Christ."

12. Galatians 2:20, "Crucifixion of the Old Man Adam."

13. Meeting at Berlin. I never saw a jam of people as were crowded into this house. Not nearly all in. Text, Hebrews 9:15, "The Mediator of the New Testament."

14. Text, Hebrews 9:1, "Ordinances, Baptism."

15. Text, Luke 10:25, "What Shall I Do to Inherit Eternal Life?"

16. Text, Hebrews 9:1, continued "Ordinances, Communion and Footwashing."

17. Text, Luke 10:25, "The Good Samaritan."

18. Breslau. House was well filled. Text, Romans 5:1, "Justification."

19. A full house and good interest. Text, Titus 2:11, 12, "The Grace of God and Its Effects."

20. Densely crowded house. Text, John 4:4, "Christ's Humiliation, the Cost of the Soul."

21. Text, Matthew 9:16-17, "New Life Is Not the Patching Up of the Old Nature."
22. A house full. Spoke from the text, "Be Not Deceived, etc."
23. Densely crowded house. Many standing. Hebrews 9:2-3, "The Tabernacle and the Priesthood." There was good interest and a number came to confess their faith in Christ. The members are much encouraged.
24. Cressman's. The house was crowded. Text, Hebrews 9:3-5, "The Ark of the Old and the Ark of the New Covenant."
25. Cressman's. A crowded house. Text, Matthew [?], "The Crucifixion Scene," especially the distribution of Jesus' clothes. The lot is cast and some get the priestly robe.
26 Berlin. The house was crowded densely and many standing. Text, Romans 7 and 8:1, "Santification." Many were interested on this subject as there are extreme views on both sides of this question in this neighborhood.
27. Berlin, 9:30 a.m. I spoke from my outline on the plan of salvation. Text, John 1:14. The house was crowded to its fullest capacity and the interest was intense.
28. A crowded house at Berlin, Text, John 3:16.
29. This morning I worked hard for a time to finish my outline for my discourse today. The house was crowded full of people of all the denominations about Berlin as well as the recent converts and the church members. Text, I John 1:15. The discourse was listened to with rapt attention for one hour and forty-five minutes. I had to tell many severe truths, but they appeared to be taken without offense.
30. Cressman's. Crowded extremely. Text, Jeremiah 8:20 "Harvest."
31. Sunday morning meeting. Not many present. Text, Matthew 15:13-16, "Salt and Light." Meeting again at 3:00 p.m. Fair attendance. Text, Luke 10:25, "The Good Samaritan."
32. Fair attendance. Text, Romans 5:5 and 6, "Justification." The church here at both places is composed of old people—pitiful.
33. Service at a private home. Text, John 1:1-14.
34. Good attendance at church. Titus 2:11, "Grace."
35. Meeting on the Mountain. Good attendance. Text, Titus 2:12-14, "Results of Grace."
36. Moyer's. Fair attendance. Luke 14:18, "Excuses." No excuse will avail before God for having neglected duty.
37. Campden. On the Mountain. A good attendance. Text Romans 8:1, "Condemnation."
38. Large congregation this evening. Text, Matthew 13:27, "The Net Cast into the Sea." These meetings have impressed the people considerably, but there is much work needed.
39. Blenheim. A full house. Text, Luke 14:18, "Excuses."
40. Blenheim. House crowded to its utmost. Many standing. Text, Mark 10:21, "The Good Young man." There is good interest in the work here.
41. Blenheim, 2:30 p.m. Text, Galatians 4:29, "The Two Natures."
42. Densely crowded house. Text, Romans 6 and Acts 1:5, "Baptism." About fourteen came out to confess Christ.
43. Full house at 10:00 a.m. Many ministers present. Text, I John 5:1-5, "Keeping the Commandments." The discourse was doctrinal and one hour and forty-five minutes in length. Members and outsiders were much interested.
44. Evening. Crowded house. Text, Joshua 24:15, "Choose." About fifteen came out this evening.

On his return home he wrote, "Worked in the office all day. Arranged part of my outline on the Plan of Salvation. This outline was published in the Gospel Banner published at Berlin, Ontario. I find it needs much correcting and revision." On the following day he again wrote, "This morning I went to town and worked about all day to finish arranging and copying my outline of the Bible reading I used at Berlin, Ontario."

EXTRACTS FROM J. S. COFFMAN'S DIARIES

BARBARA F. COFFMAN

For twenty-four years John S. Coffman faithfully kept a diary. In these diaries he recorded not only incidents of his personal life, but as a minister and evangelist, history-making events of the utmost interest to students of church history during one of the most critical periods of the Mennonite Church, 1876-99.

Coffman was already engaged in church work, as a minister, when he began the regular habit of keeping diaries, and so the only personal account of his ordination is found fifteen years later when he wrote:

April 9, 1890—This evening Bro. Solomon Beery of Virginia accompanied me home from town. I was glad to meet him. Next July 18, it will be 15 years that he and I were at the same time and place ordained to the ministry.

The incident of his baptism is also recalled in a later diary.

July 4, 1894—Just thirty years ago this 4th of July I was baptized in Muddy Creek not far from this place, at Jacob Heatwole's ford, east of the Bank Church. What years have these been. Not all spent holy before God, but God be praised for the grace that saves. Those baptized at the same time were Peter Hartman, Abram Weaver, John Bell and others. How quickly these 30 years have past. I may sleep long ere another 30 years pass by.

As one of a number of ministers in the Shenandoah Valley, John S. Coffman was not loaded down with a heavy preaching schedule during the first few years of his ministry. However, as one of the younger ministers, it frequently fell to his lot to visit the more distant congregations, often accompanying one of the older ministers. Only on fourteen occasions during 1876 and eighteen times in '77 does he mention having "taken the text." These appointments were at Sengerville, Stonewall school, Franklin, Fairview, Mount Pleasant, Timber Ridge, Pike, Bank, Weavers, Hildebrands, Brock's Gap, Singers Glen, Mount Clinton, Brennemans, St. Johns, Wilbourn School, Mount Carmel school and Trissel. His most frequent efforts were made at Mount Pleasant, Stonewall school, Franklin and the Pike. Of some of these early experiences in the pulpit, we read:

Sept. 17, 1876—I went to the Bank. This is the regular day for preaching there. No minister was there so I had to fill the appointment. I did not expect that and had made no preparation at all. My experience is that when I make no particular subject a study and have no preparation at all, I find it difficult to preach. . . . Made some remarks on the prayer of Christ.

Oct. 22, 1876—When I got to Weavers I began to think seriously that I would be left alone to fill the appointment. While I began to be much distressed and pleaded earnestly with God in prayer for His aid in performing my duties, I received comfort and courage. Soon David Landis came to assist in the services. All day I felt beyond a doubt that God heard and answered my prayer.

Feb. 17, 1878—Went to the Bank. Father and Daniel Heatwole were there but they insisted on me to take up the subject. . . . I found it hard work to preach as I had made no preparation.

March 3, '78—Started at 7:30 for Mount Pleasant. Went all the way up and back alone and had no help at church, only Jacob Harshberger led once in prayer. Text, John 3:3, regeneration. I could not help myself so well as at times, but got along better than I do sometimes.

During 1878 and 1879, Coffman was called upon more frequently to give the main discourse, and he made many entries similar to the following:

Mar. 10, 1878—Went to the Pike to preaching. There was a large number of preachers, Daniel Showalter was there from the lower district. He made introductory remarks in German. The rest of the brethren, Landis, Beery, and Burkholder, insisted on me to take the text.

His responsibility to the church and to his fellow men as a minister of the Gospel was already felt by Coffman during these early years in Virginia. In September, 1877, he took an active part in church conference:

Sept. 29, 1877—Last night I went to Isaac Groves to meet the rest of the committee to get up resolutions for consideration. We got up five resolutions by working late. Conference met at eight. All the resolutions were adopted with some modifications. There were some warm discussions on them and other subjects.

On Dec. 25, 1877, he wrote:

This Christmas day was a gloomy one with respect to the weather, but other ways I can not say so, as we are all well and enjoy ourselves well, though for the last few months I have been laboring under a consciousness of increasing responsibilities on church matters. Responsibilities seem to increase faster than the years.

At this time he was also becoming increasingly conscious of the great mission of the church and of the necessity of making direct effort to win souls for Christ.

Sept. 15, 1878—A number of persons have made application to become members of the church. (Bank) While at church today my soul became heavy with sorrow for the poor wayward sinner, especially for some special ones, and with this sorrow came a determination to continue in fervent prayer in their behalf.

J. S. Coffman's first preaching tour was made in 1877, when in company with his uncle by marriage, Gabriel Heatwole, he made

a trip into the mountain district of West Virginia, combining religious activities with a favorite agricultural pursuit of grafting trees. For three weeks, from May 14 until June 3, the two ministers traveled from place to place, grafting apple orchards with better varieties of fruit, and filling afternoon and evening appointments in schools and churches of scattered communities.

May 19, 1877—This morning we went back to Adamsons and finished his grafting, 36 grafts. Went up the Seneca to Rhodemans to make arrangements for the funeral services of Mrs. Rhodeman who died last fall. Came back as far as Jacob Keisamores where we got our dinner. Hurried down to Samuel Millers on the Fork to meet an appointment at 3 o'clock. Gabriel preached from the text, "Lord, Help me." We had a very attentive audience. After preaching we went up the Fork to the mouth of the Seneca and put up 72 grafts for Sampson Sites. Went to Mr. Michael Mouses to stay for the night. We had a pleasant evening with the family, sung a number of tunes.

His first visit to churches outside of the state was made in the fall of 1878, when he made a trip to Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. As a result of the trip the following entry appeared in his diary:

Jan. 30, 1879—This evening I wrote a letter to Bro. Bare in Kansas. . . . I wrote rather unfavorable to his enquiry. I have nearly made up my mind to emigrate to Illinois in the next summer.

But on March 26, 1879, he wrote:

I wrote a letter to John Funk this evening to let him know that I accept his proposition of $500 a year and expect to move (to Indiana) in June. He has promised to get a house for us and be ready to receive us.

On June 20, 1879, the J. S. Coffman family arrived in Elkhart and on July 1, Coffman commenced his duties at the Mennonite Publishing Company as assistant editor of the *Herald of Truth*. This important and influential position he held until January, 1897, when A. B. Kolb became sole editor of the publication. Of his work on the Herald he wrote:

July 21, 1880—I have just now determined to use all my efforts to make the Herald more interesting than it was last year. I am especially interested in the editorial department. We intend to be more pointed on doctrinal subjects. We have a number of critics on some articles in exchanges.

His arrival in Indiana also ushered in a period of greater activity and increased responsibility as a minister. From the time of his arrival until within a few weeks of his death, twenty years later, very few Sundays passed in which he was not called upon to preach at least once during the day. At this time the Elkhart ministers not only ministered at Elkhart, but were called upon to fill

appointments at the various churches in the county and outlying districts. Yellow Creek, Clinton, Shaum's or Olive, Shore, Nappanee, and Salem were frequently visited by Coffman, and soon week-end trips to Dekalb County, Indiana; Kent and Branch County, Michigan; and Cullom, Illinois, became part of his busy schedule.

These visits to the struggling little congregations in newly settled districts helped greatly to awaken in J. S. Coffman the overwhelming spirit of evangelism which molded his entire career.

Mar. 19, 1880—This evening I am much pressed on account of the promise I made of going to Burr Oak tomorrow. I feel that I indeed need the assistance of God if I am to accomplish any good on my visit. May He guide my thoughts and give me grace to preach His Word. May some sinner be saved.

April 7, 1880—Today I have been studying the necessity of laboring for the interests of the church. I begin to see it as I never saw it before. I see plainly that if it were so that my family was supported I would have work at preaching all the time.

June 23, 1880—Today I have been thinking much of the necessity of missionary work in the church. What we need is home mission work. Conferences should make arrangements to send ministers into certain places where there is a prospect that the church could be built. A mission board should be created and evangelists should be under the care of the board.

Feb. 16, 1881—Today I have been thinking much about the necessity of the church making a more active effort to make converts. When we see what others are doing and see the success which follows their efforts we are sorely grieved at the apathy of our own members on the subject of evangelizing. I sometimes feel like cutting lose and going all the time.

In June, 1881, J. S. Coffman held his first series of evangelistic meetings, the special effort being made at Bowne in Kent County, Michigan, where his occasional visits had revealed so clearly the need for continued evangelistic effort.

June 4, 1881—Was met at Lowell by Bro. Bentler who took me to his home for dinner and to the meeting at Bowne at three. Not a large attendance. Text, Eating and drinking unworthily. The meeting was full this evening and a very attentive congregation.

June 5—The communion meeting was largely attended. This morning there was one baptized and one received from the Christian (Campbellite) church. When the sister was received, having been previously baptized by immersion and was satisfied, then we went a short distance to the water and the other was baptized by pouring as is the universal custom of the Mennonite churches which are still orthodox. Returning to the house communion was held. Full and interesting meeting this evening. I Tim. 1:15, From what are we saved.

June 6—Had a good meeting this evening. Text, Luke 14:15 to 23. "Come" and "Excuses." Four more applicants. The house was full and the attention was the closest I ever experienced.

June 7—Full congregation this evening. Text, Matt. 11:28 to 30. Manner of coming to Jesus. Six applicants now. One desires three actions in baptism. It may be allowed her.

June 9—An examination meeting at 10. Jacob Blough and Jacob Miller made up their minds to be baptized also. Meeting at two. Nine persons were baptized in the creek near the church. By request that the baptismal service should be in English I baptized six of them. Bro. Speicher three. Meeting this evening, a full house. Subject, Growing in Christ.

In December of the same year Coffman accepted an invitation to visit the church at Masontown, Pennsylvania, where after two weeks of direct evangelistic work, eleven persons made confessions and were received into the church by baptism on the following Sunday. At the close of the meetings at Masontown, Coffman visited a number of the congregations in the neighboring districts, preaching at Hustons school, Scottdale, Meyersdale, Blouch's school, Grantsville, Maryland, Folk, Lower church at St. Paul's, Weaver's, Thomas church and Blouch's church, returning to Indiana after a month's absence.

Similar extended tours were frequently made during the years that followed, especially into established communities not yet open to direct evangelistic work. Most of the congregations of Ontario were visited in 1882. Another trip was made into Pennsylvania in the fall of 1882. An extended tour of the churches of Ohio was made in 1883, another in 1885 and others at least every two years thereafter. Few places were open for evangelistic work in Pennsylvania but extensive trips were made into various districts on a number of occasions, a visit of three months being recorded in the fall of 1896. At this time Coffman filled appointments at fifty different places, seldom spending more than a day or two at one place. Although Illinois and Missouri were open earlier for evangelistic work, extended trips were frequently made into all parts of these states as well, special attention being given to small communities where there was some hope of establishing a congregation. Similar tours were later made of Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas.

In Virginia only three series of meetings are recorded, one at the Weaver church in Dale Enterprise, in December, 1888, which resulted in twenty-four applicants for membership, one at Bealton, Fauquier County, in December, 1891, and the third at Denbigh, Virginia, in December, 1898. However, each trip to his old home in Virginia meant a tour of most of the congregations with which he had labored earlier.

Although meetings were held in DeKalb, County, Indiana, and in Hawpatch (Topeka) as early as 1884, and at Mentor and Clay

City in 1887, it was not until 1888 that it was considered wise to hold evangelistic services at Elkhart or in Elkhart County. Churches in all parts of the state, however, were frequently visited, tours of various districts being made in 1883, 1887, 1888, and 1895. As a result of these trips into the various church districts, Coffman became more thoroughly convinced of the great need for evangelism in the church.

December 14, 1889—I see plainly that wherever our people make direct efforts in continued meetings they build up; but where they do not in the new places, they build very slowly or retrograde.

Aug. 1, 1892—There is a bright prospect open for the church in many places. Many see the need of direct and earnest effort to build up the church, yet there are too many that do not see the necessity of going into more direct efforts to preach the doctrine we believe, than were made in times past.

An incident of opposition to the work is cited on January 14, 1883:

To church at Yellow Creek at seven. There were a good many people, mostly young people, there. Some were not so pleased that I gave a public invitation to come to Christ.

Jan. 15—Daniel Hoover came over and had a talk about our last night meeting. Some were not well pleased because they feared I was too much like Daniel Brenneman. He seems well satisfied after talking.

In Illinois evangelistic meetings were held at five different places. Seven meetings are recorded for Cullom between the years 1882 and 1890. The first series was held in the Methodist church and resulted in the conversion of fifteen individuals. In September of that year he attended the dedication service of the Cullom church. Sterling, Illinois, where five meetings were held, was first visited in February, 1890, when he wrote:

Feb. 9, '90—We have been pressing the matter considerably to have those who are standing without, to confess Christ but no results.

In 1892, after attending a funeral in Sterling, he made the following entry:

Jan. 25, '92—I wrote letters to various parties in Wayne Co. and in Canada and home, who are interested in the change of plans. I had expected to be at home this evening and go to Canada on Friday, but I feel I must stay here and hold meetings.

Jan. 31—A fair attendance this evening. Text John 11:44. Loose him. Four more came out, 7 in all and there are others expected to join in with them. . . . I am glad that I stayed in Illinois.

Sterling was the last place in Illinois Coffman visited before his final illness in June, 1899. Other congregations where meetings were held were Washington, 1888, 1889, and 1893; Freeport in 1893; and Saunemium in 1898.

It seems only natural that J. S. Coffman would feel keenly the need of his home congregation, especially with sons of his own growing to manhood without having made the all-important decision.

Jan. 8, 1888—I cannot help feeling a great interest in many of our young people here who seem near the kingdom of God and yet are unsaved.

Jan. 20—My mind has been much taken up with the evangelizing work, and especially have I been considering how we can get our young people at Elkhart to make a start in the Christian life. Over this I have thought, and wept, and prayed, and I look to God for direction in the matter.

Jan. 21—This evening after working hours I spent the time in my office alone and reading and in prayer that the Lord would bless the effort we have seen best to make in a few meetings here at Elkhart. We had meeting with only a fair attendance.

Jan. 22—This evening we had meeting as usual and made a more direct appeal to the sinner than we usually have been doing. Attendance good, as it was the time for the young people's meeting.

Jan. 24—A good attendance at church. Subj. Water baptism as a figure of the Holy Spirit baptism. This evening Samuel F. Coffman came forward to confess.

Jan. 27—Two more came to confess, William Hass and Lizzie Mast making six up to this time.

Following this beginning, meetings were held annually at Elkhart, two series being recorded for the years 1892 and 1893. In connection with a service at Salem, Indiana, he wrote:

Nov. 25, 1890—Had good attention and gave a public invitation last night, and two persons came out. One tonight. This is a practice we have followed in many places but have not used it in this county except at Elkhart. It has become necessary in nearly every place.

The first series of meetings at the Salem church were held at that time, March 23-27, 1890. A second series was held in 1896. Five meetings are recorded for DeKalb County, Indiana; and three for the Hawpatch, in 1884, 1887, and 1894 when he wrote:

Mar. 15, 1894—This evening we had at church our Elkhart folks, sisters Mumaw and Brunk and Elizabeth. Samuel F. [Coffman] came along.

Mar. 16—Good attendance at church. Text, Acts 3:19, Repentance. Samuel had a Bible reading on this subject before the sermon.

This was probably "Samuel's" first efforts outside his home church. He remained in the Hawpatch until the close of the meetings, conducting a Bible reading each evening under the watchful eye of his father.

Meetings at Clinton were held in 1888 and 1891; Olive 1892 and 1893; Shore 1888, 1893; Nappanee 1894, 1896; Yellow Creek 1895, 1898; Mentor and Clay City 1887; Pretty Prairie 1888; Forest Grove 1891; Shipshewana and Kokomo 1893; and North Union 1897.

An interesting visit to Kalona, Iowa, is recorded in November, 1889.

Nov. 8, 1889—This morning Bro. Miller took me north and east to old Preacher Frederick Swartzentruber, Bishop in the Old Amish church. He is much afflicted of rheumatism and unable to walk. After dinner we came to Jacob Boller four miles from Kalona. He lives near the meetinghouse in which Chris. Werri preaches. This is the only Mennonite meetinghouse in this country, although there are about five large congregations here. The Old Amish brethren which compose nearly all the church here do not think it right to build church houses and worship in them. It is sad that all the Mennonites cannot see more nearly alike.

On this trip to Iowa he also visited Wayland. Eight years later he revisited Kalona when he spent a week with the congregation helping to straighten out some difficulties.

Considerable work was done by J. S. Coffman in the state of Kansas, beginning in 1889 with a week's service at West Liberty in February, followed by a few days at Peabody, Spring Valley, and Sabetha. Spring Valley was again visited in December of the same year and of this visit he said:

Dec. 15, 1889—Left Monitor at 6:30 for Spring Valley where there was an appointment at 11. House was densely crowded. Good attention by many but some of the young people are spoiled and inattentive. It is high time that a direct effort be made here. Dinner at John Pletchers. Meeting this evening with more people than could get in the house. Text Mark 4:3-9, the sower.

An interesting description of his visit to Topland, Kansas, is given on December 5, 1889:

Just here I will note about our meeting at Topland. We had the meeting in a low sod house in which they had the post office. There was no floor in it, except the natural earth. The stove was an old, rusty one, with the pipe barely reaching through the sod roof. The fires were made with what the people here call government wood or buffalo chips, which are really droppings of the cattle which eat the prairie buffalo grass. Of other feed they would not make fuel. They use this to warm their houses and cook their meals.

Spring Valley was again visited in 1890 and 1892; Newton in 1890, 1892, and 1896; Peabody 1892; and Marion Center and Sabetha, Nemaha County, in 1890. West Liberty was revisited in 1895 when he and D. J. Johns were asked to help settle some difficulties of which he wrote:

May 13, 1895—We all went to the Amish meeting at 10. Johns preached. We all gave short talks. This afternoon we met the aggrieved parties at Abram Hostetlers to urge them to confess their faults rather than state their grievances. All agreed. Full meeting this evening.

May 14—At two O'clock we had the church together without the aggrieved members and all expressed themselves willing to have peace

even at a sacrifice of some of their preferences. May God give all a tender loving heart.

May 15—At nine we met at the church to try and get the difficulty settled between these offended members. The Lord heard our prayers and melted the hearts into love with only a few exceptions. We asked each member on both sides who felt so, to speak for himself and of himself and be his own accuser in all his errors, and not a word concerning his brother or sister. All who were back from church who were present came up and were received again. There were many tears of joy, and many requests to bury all the unpleasantness of the past.

The following year he again responded to an appeal for help from Kansas.

Aug. 27, 1896—A number of letters came from Kansas requesting me to come at once to help them get the people out of their excitement. They are continually passing through conflicts in the Kansas churches. The people have come together from various places and have various opinions and beside they are of the emotional class of people.

Sept. 8—Got ready for my trip to Kansas. This trip has cost me considerable concern and prayer and looking to the Lord for guidance. The folks there have their difficulties concerning yielding to much emotion and making a great demonstration of religious feeling. Some of their most earnest workers and those who live the most blameless lives have been allowing their feeling to carry them into much demonstration. It is hard to get opposing elements reconciled. This is what they want of me. Samuel F. started today for Keokuk County, Iowa, to hold some meetings under the direction of the evangelizing board.

At this time he spent ten days at Newton, Kansas, and eight souls confessed Christ during the series.

In Maryland, meetings are recorded at Richley School in 1884, 1886, and 1888; at Long Green in 1891; and Casselman's in December, 1893.

Five congregations were served in Michigan, including Bowne, where meetings were held five times between the years 1881 and 1890; Caledonia where two were held in 1888, one in 1884 and one in 1890; Branch County, three series, 1884, 1887, 1888; Layton, Kent County, in 1888; and Mancelona in 1886.

Some of Coffman's earliest and most intensive evangelistic work was accomplished at Versailles, with the Mount Zion congregation, and at Garden City, Missouri. One of his first impressions regarding conditions at Mount Zion is summed up in the following entry:

Jan. 25, 1883—I find here great need of work and earnest prayer to get the people interested. The church here has to contend against many things that are inclined to hinder her prosperity. Church members need to become more pious.

For both Mount Zion and Bethel congregations, nine series of meetings are recorded. At Mount Zion two visits were made in 1883,

one in 1886, 1887, 1888, 1890, 1891, 1892 and 1894. It was during the meeting of September, 1890, that Daniel Kauffman was converted. Of this event we read:

Oct. 3—At D. D. Kauffman's. Spent most of the day here writing. Spent about an hour with Daniel Kauffman in his school and part of the noon hour. Made a little speech to the children. This evening the weather was threatening and the attendance was not so large.

Oct. 5—Fair attendance again this evening. Text Joshua 24:15, Choose you this day. This evening Daniel Kauffman came out to begin a Christian life. This makes 7 converts for these meetings. May we not hope that this start will influence many others to make a start and that the church here will be built up.

A little over a month later J. S. Coffman returned to Mount Zion when a baptismal service was held for the recent converts.

Nov. 16, 1890—I stayed last night at Kauffman's and had a talk with his young people. This morning at 10:30 we had an instruction meeting, Matt. 18. At 11:30 the regular services; Text, Rev. 1:6, Priests and their consecration. There were baptized, Daniel Kauffman, Amanda Detweiler, Fannie Driver, Barbara Blosser, Mary Ratzlaff. Jacob Ratzlaff and Annie his sister were received upon confession.

In a visit to the congregation two years later, Coffman was present at the ordination service of Daniel Kauffman.

Oct. 29, 1892—We had church this morning at 10. The meeting was to choose and ordain a minister and a deacon. After a discourse by Bro. L. J. Heatwole the votes of the church were taken in the council room. The members nearly all voted. The bulk of the votes fell on Daniel Kauffman, minister, and J. C. Driver, deacon. There were some scattering votes for others, but the church agreed to make the vote unanimous for these two. They were ordained by L. J. Heatwole.

The work at Garden City began in 1886 and continued with regular annual visits until 1891, another visit in 1894, and two in 1896. In 1890 fifteen converts applied for church membership. In 1896 the holiness movement caused some disruption in the Bethel congregation. At first the situation was not considered alarming.

Jan. 11, 1896—Much interest prevails here on the subject "sanctification," and many have accepted the Wesleyan theory. It is helping many even if they have taken extreme views.

Jan. 12—An immense crowd tonight. Many went away for want of room. The discourse last night on sanctification has caused much comment and some claim they got light.

But in April Coffman was again asked to return and help settle the difficulties which had arisen over the question.

April 29, 1896—At Isaiah Byler's and had a spirited talk on holiness and divine healing. This morning there was meeting with fair attendance, subject, Unity of the brotherhood. Made calls this afternoon at Rufus Kenagy's, A. K. Plank's, and Elhanan Byler's where we had a talk on the position held

by the Kansas City holiness teachers. Full house this evening at Bethel, text James 4:14, What is life.

Apr. 30—Text this evening, Peter 3:18. Spoke a full hour. The attention was good, many Amish being present. They are intensely interested in the settlement of the trouble.

May 1—This morning there was a meeting of the members and we had a talk on the usages of the church as taken from the Bible, especially on the communion and excitable meetings. We had all who wished to make confession and give expression and then took counsel as to whether they wished to keep house in the church as the church has ever done. All consented, yet several held reserve to shout. Even with this the great majority counselled peace.

His first two visits to Palmyra were made in 1886 and 1888. Of his third visit, in 1894, we read:

Sept. 1, 1894—Bro. J. L. Rohrer met me and took me to his home. Soon after dinner Bro. Daniel Kauffman came accompanied by Jacob Hershey who lives by the school. Daniel had been holding meetings here since Monday evening. There was a crowded house in the little schoolhouse on the bank. I spoke from Rom. 3:23, All are sinners.

Sept. 2. At three o'clock they had Sunday school at the schoolhouse. Not large on account of the shower. Daniel and I both spoke. An overflowing house this evening. Text by Daniel K. Worth of the soul.

Daniel Kauffman assisted in the meetings which followed at Cherry Box and Versailles.

In September, 1883, a trip from Morgan County into Jasper County was recorded.

Sept. 18—This morning we made preparation to start back to Morgan. Had a pleasant conversation and talked much of sacred things. There was a tearful parting. I enjoyed very much meeting with my relatives and Virginian friends. I am encouraged to think that the church can be built up here by the right kind of work, but they have much to contend against.

In 1888 and 1890, he held meetings at Olathe, Kansas. He wrote:

Nov. 6, 1890—I cannot help feeling discouraged concerning the work here. There is much against us as a people.

Nov. 8—A gloomy evening. About four o'clock Bro. Ernst took me into town, but on account of the rain there was no meeting. . . . Almost everything was against us in the meetings this week, politics, the dark of the moon, rain, and other things.

Of the situation in Mendon, he wrote:

Mar. 9, 1889—Got here at 1 p.m. Bro. John Kreider met me and took me to his home. I see they have a good country here, and it appears to me that if Bro. Kreider could do something to get some of his Pennsylvania friends to move in, and F. W. Brunk could get some of his Virginia friends to come in, they could soon have a nice start for a little church here. Had a meeting this evening in the Mendon M.E. church.

Following a series of meetings in October, 1890, we find this entry:

Nov. 28, 1890—I find that the good work here is in better shape almost than I could have hoped for. The converts are all in real good earnest and fully in faith with us and entirely submissive to our rules and practices. May God bless the good work at this place. (Seven persons were baptized on Nov. 30)

Meetings were also held at East Lynne, Missouri, in 1886 and 1887; Cherry Box, 1886 and 1894; Clarence in 1888 and 1890; and Leeton and Belton in 1891.

Only one series of meetings is recorded for Nebraska, which was held in Roseland in November, 1889. Of this congregation he remarked:

Nov. 23, 1889—Quite a nice congregation of members here, 40 or 50 who seem well interested. I see that they will have to do earnest work to hold their children in the faith and get them in the church.

A total of twenty-four evangelistic services were held in Ohio with fifteen different congregations, including New Stark, 1889, 1891, 1893; Ada, 1887, 1897, 1898; Riley Creek, 1889, 1891; South Union, 1890; Bakers School, Medina County, 1892; Canton, 1894; Pickerington, Turkey Run, Columbus, West Liberty, 1895; Wadsworth, 1896; Guilford, 1892, 1893; Salem 1893, 1895; Crown Hill, 1893, 1896; Winesburg, Old Culp's church, 1893.

Although his first visit to the Ontario churches was made in 1882, it was not until 1891 that he returned to make a special evangelistic effort among the congregations. In January and February of 1891 meetings were held at Berlin, Breslau, Vineland, and Blenheim. The results of these meetings were summed up in the following statement:

Feb. 10, 1891—Took dinner at Isadore Snyder's. Here we had a pleasant service with a number of the brethren and sisters of the brotherhood who had gathered. This was my last prayer with the dear people of Canada for this pleasant season of refreshing. Many of the other members are much encouraged by the meetings, and considerably over 100 souls made a start in the new life. A few of them will likely not unite with the church. The converts are mostly of the neighborhoods of Berlin, Breslau, and Blenheim. While in Canada over four weeks I preached 44 times, and held likely more than twice that many prayer services at private homes. This was one of the most interesting seasons of my life.

In May of that year he again returned to Ontario, spending over two weeks with the Vineland congregation. Of these meetings he wrote:

June 7, 1891—This evening there was an immense crowd around the house after it was densely filled. They think there were never more on the grounds at one time. Excellent order in all the meetings. Text John 3:16. About 17 or 18 confessed Christ this evening, making 36 or 38 in all.

June 24—Came to John Rittenhouse's. Here we had a long talk on the condition of the church and the work here. The prospect here is not so good as we had hoped, but is still hopeful, and I believe there are many souls yet to be gathered.

During this second trip, meetings were also held at Waterloo, South Cayuga, and Rainham. Of the situation at Rainham at this time, he remarked:

June 15, 1891—Attendance fair, but the house not filled. I fear it is a hard place to get up much interest. Text. Eph. 1:17, Redemption through the blood. I find it difficult to present the truth here in a way that it will be considered attentively. The letter of the word has been preached here by the so-called Disciples till it is difficult to get them to understand the spirit.

In 1892 meetings were again held at Berlin.

Feb. 6, 1892—I had quite a long talk today with the brethren Amos Cressman, Elias Weber, Daniel Wismer, and Jacob Kolb. We talked over the situation and the work here and many cautions were given that we work in a way to build up the church rather than to break it down.

Feb. 19—Had a crowded house long before the hour of meeting. Text, Heb. 9:15, the Mediator. Good attention. Five more came to confess. We simply speak with them after they come out and instruct them how to go on in prayer and looking to God for peace and forgiveness.

Feb. 20—The church was crowded to almost every inch, many not in. Text Matt. 11:29, a practical talk to the preachers, members, converts, and sinner. Five more came out making 60 in all.

Other Ontario congregations visited in 1892 were Hagey's, Detweiler's, Latschar, Upper Street, Vineland, Markham, Clachan, Rainham, and Sherkston. Two trips were again made to Ontario in 1894 when he attended the Ontario conference in Vineland in May. The following important decision was made at the conference at this time.

May 25, 1894—This morning the evangelizing question came up and a resolution of liberty to work was passed.

South Cayuga and Rainham were again visited at this time, and in December, Blenheim, where twelve confessions were made, Hagey's, twenty-two confessions, and Waterloo, twenty-two confessions. A general visit to all the churches was made in 1895 when he was accompanied by Mrs. Coffman.

Meetings were held at eleven churches in Pennsylvania, including Masontown, 1881, 1886; Scottdale, 1885, 1893; Folk, 1884, 1886, 1888; Chestnut Springs, 1891; Petersburg, 1886; and Slate Hill, Mechanicsburg, Newville, McVeyton and Belleville in 1894. On June 9, following a week of meetings at the Folk church, he wrote:

June 9, 1888—At nine o'clock instruction for the converts. Nineteen applicants came and two had measles. Some were from Maryland and some from the neighborhood of Folk. The house was crowded at 10 for public baptismal service. Thirteen were baptized in the house and six in the brook.

In January, 1895, J. S. Coffman made his only trip into the southern states where he spent some time with a few members at Bowling Green, Florida, and labored with a small congregation at Roseland, Louisiana. In Tennessee he held services at Dixon and Knoxville in March, and briefly visited a Waldensian colony before returning to Indiana.

Although it can never be determined how much these long journeys and months away from his work cost him financially, we do occasionally find entries in his diaries similar to the following.

Nov. 18, 1886—The whole expense of my trip $20.90
Time for the 5 weeks, worth about 60.00
Gratuitous by friends 60.25
Commission on collections 7.25

Jan. 9, 1888—This is the first I have worked in the office for a long while. After counting up my time in the office for last year, I find I worked just 98 days. Last year I worked 110 days. It looks as though I am pressed more and more into this evangelizing work. May the Lord provide for me financially that I come not into contempt on account of my indebtedness.

Jan. 30, 1889—I collected only about $24 for the Mennonite Publishing Co. on this trip. The people where I was helped me considerably on my expenses and my needs, for the family, yet I have not enough to meet all my needs that need attention.

The sacrifices made by Coffman were, however, not alone of a financial nature, as we see by the following entry:

Feb. 13, 1888—I was glad to get home and see my folks again, but I have never seen Elizabeth so much discouraged on account of my being away from home so much. She thinks now she can scarcely bear it. The truth is I have been at home but little since September.
Feb. 14—I have now written to Cullom, Ill., that I expect to be there till Saturday, and I much dread to start again on a trip, but I feel willing to make the sacrifice of home comforts and expose myself to the inconveniences of travel and living away from home if I can do good by going. But I feel sorry to leave the care of the family so much to Elizabeth.

But the results of his labor, we feel sure, more than compensated for the sacrifice made, and a note of joy creeps into entries such as the one below:

Aug. 3, 1892—Had a conversation with M. S. Steiner and others on the church work and situation in general. There are many reasons why we can be encouraged with the outlook of the church work before us, yet there are many obstacles in the way of successful work. But the way to more aggressive work is rapidly clearing up.

PIETER CORNELISZ PLOCKHOY: AN APOSTLE OF THE COLLEGIANTS

IRVIN B. HORST

In the year 1658, near the close of Cromwell's protectorship, there appeared in London a Dutch pamphleteer and agitator who signed his name "Peter Cornelius Van Zurick-Zee." Like many contemporary English reformers,[1] he was a radical preacher of religious liberty and the ideal community. The toleration granted by the Cromwellian government inspired him, and he believed that the propitious time had arrived for the practical realization of his democratic and co-operative concepts. In less than two years' time he wrote and published several pamphlets, began an experimental community in London, and contemplated projects in Bristol and Ireland. This Dutch reformer carried his plans into English politics; he counselled Cromwell personally and sent his proposals to the Commonwealth Parliament. Furthermore, he believed that his ideas had international significance. To him, Cromwell was not only a reformer in England but a prospect of the "universal Magistrate" who as an example would "break forth (as a light) to all other Countreys and Nations."[2]

The presence of Plockhoy in England, as well as his English pamphlets, was discovered and studied by several scholars during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[3] "Peter Cornelius Van Zurick-Zee" was identified with the writer of a similar Dutch pamphlet. Further research revealed that his full Dutch name was Pieter Corneliszoon Plockhoy,[4] and that in 1663 he led a group of

[1] Notably John Lilburne, Gerrard Winstanley, John Bellers. For a definitive study of the social and demoeratic elements in the English Revolution see Eduard Bernstein, *Sozialismus und Demokratie in der groszen englischen Revolution.* This study first appeared in Karl Kautsky and Bernstein's, et al., *Die Geschichte des Sozialismus in Einzeldarstellungen,* as the fifth section of the first volume, titled, *Die Vorläufer des Neuren Sozialismus . . . ,* Stuttgart, 1895, pp. 507-707. With some added notes this valuable study has been republished in a separate book which has gone through several editions. All references to Bernstein in this paper refer to the fourth edition, Stuttgart, 1922. This study has also been translated into English by H. J. Stenning with the title: *Cromwell and Communism, Socialism and Democracy in the Great English Revolution,* London, (1930). Bernstein devotes a full chapter to Plockhoy.

[2] Peter Cornelius (Plockhoy), *The Way to the Peace and Settlement of These Nations . . .* (London), 1659, p. 6.

[3] The American historians, John Romeyn Brodhead, E. D. O'Callaghan; the English historian G. P. Gooch; the German socialist, Eduard Bernstein; the Dutch socialist, H. P. G. Quack. One of the first to discover Plockhoy's Dutch pamphlet was the German political economist, Etienne Laspeyres, *Geschichte der volkswirtschaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederländer in ihrer Literatur zur Zeit der Republik,* Leipzig, 1863, pp. 105-106.

[4] This is the full Dutch spelling of Plockhoy's name. The suffix attached to the middle name indicates the Dutch custom of using the patronymic. Sometimes Plockhoy made use of another custom, that of appending an adaptation from one's birthplace, trade, etc., and added to his name "Van Zurick-Zee" or "Van-Zurik-Zee," from Zierikzee, the town of his birth. Bernstein spells the name "Plockboy" which is incorrect. He

Dutch colonists to settle along the South River (Delaware) in The New Netherlands. Since Plockhoy had formulated unique socioeconomic ideas, the most extended and careful studies of his writings and activities have been made by socialist scholars.[5] Historians of the English revolution and American colonial history have given slight attention to Plockhoy.[6] One Dutch historian discovered and studied Plockhoy's activity in the Collegiant movement.[7]

This paper endeavors to assemble the extant information pertaining to Plockhoy and to summarize the religious and socioeconomic concepts set forth in his writings.[8] This paper also submits, on the basis of a parallel study of Plockhoy and his contemporary Dutch background, that a major source of his inspiration and ideas was the Collegiant movement. Consideration will also be given to other backgrounds, particularly his contacts with English social reformers, but the writer believes that the Collegiant influence was a dominant one.[9]

In Calvinist Holland, Plockhoy was an active member of the Collegiants.[10] His nonconformist sympathies are also revealed by the fact that the members of his Delaware colony were largely Mennonite.[11] The Collegiant movement was a religious one, with

noticed that the proper spelling was "h" but was fascinated by the similarity of "Plockboy" and "Ploughboy"; see Bernstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-89. Troeltsch and Downie follow Bernstein and misspell the name. Asher misspells the name "Plockhay."

[5] Bernstein, *op. cit.;* H. P. G. Quack, *Beelden en Groepen, Studiën,* Amsterdam, 1892. John Downie, "Peter Cornelius Plockboy: Pioneer of the First Co-operative Commonwealth," *Cooperative Review,* Manchester, 1934.

[6] English Revolution: G. P. Gooch, *The History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century,* Cambridge, 1898, pp. 209, 210. American History: J. R. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York,* New York, 1853, pp. 698, 744-45; E. B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland or New York under the Dutch,* New York, 1848, Vol. II, pp. 465-69; Edward Channing, *A History of the United States,* New York, 1910, Vol. II, p. 412.

[7] Cornelis Bonnes Hylkema, *Reformateurs, Geschiedkundige Studiën over de Godsdienstige Bewegingen uit de Nadagen onzer Gouden Eeuw,* Haarlem, 1900, Vol. I, p. 176; Vol. II, pp. 100-106.

[8] For the most complete account of Plockhoy see the following: Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown Pennsylvania and the Beginning of German Emigration to North America,* (Philadelphia, 1899), pp. 177-211. For the record of Plockhoy's European activities, Pennypacker follows Quack, *op. cit.,* pp. 201-243; C. Henry Smith, "Plockhoy and the first Mennonite Colony in America," *Mennonite Year Book and Almanac,* pp. 18-21. Smith follows Pennypacker.

[9] The Collegiant activities of Plockhoy were discovered and studied by Hylkema, *op. cit.* This valuable work by Hylkema appears, in general, to be unknown. For an exception see E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Church,* London, 1931, pp. 975, 976.

[10] See the pamphlet, *Lammerenkrijgh: Anders / Mennonisten Kercken-Twist . . .* (Amsterdam), 1663. At least two pamphlets pertaining to the conflict between the Lammists and Zonists in the Flemish Mennonite congregation at Amsterdam, reveal Plockhoy's connection with the Collegiant movement. (See footnote 62.) For a summation and interpretation of these materials see Hylkema, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, pp. 100-106.

[11] See footnote by Bernstein, *op. cit.,* p. 280.

rationalistic-mystical concepts, which had its origin among the Remonstrants (Arminians). At the time of Plockhoy it was vigorous and growing by the addition of Mennonite and Socinian elements.[12] The Collegiants reacted radically against the prescribed doctrines and traditions of the churches; they sought a fellowship across the lines of religious sects. They may be viewed as a reaction to the stern dogmatism and control of the Reformed Church which was fully entrenched in the States General. The Synod of Dort (1618-1619) established a national confession of faith and proscribed the Arminian wing of the church. It is with this background that we shall observe Plockhoy as an aroused Collegiant pleading for reform in England and attempting to establish a free community on the Delaware.

Petitioner for Religious Freedom

The known information concerning Plockhoy's mission in England is contained in two pamphlets which were published in London in 1659 and which are still extant.[13] The earlier of these publications, with the author's date January 24, 1659,[14] is titled, *The Way to the Peace and Settlement of These Nations.*[15] . . . The first edition is a 28-page booklet consisting of three letters which together had been addressed to the Parliament convening January 27, 1659. The second and third letters are printed copies of ones originally delivered to Oliver Cromwell. The first of these was sent on June 24, 1658, and, since the Protector died in September, 1658, the second must have followed with little lapse of time. The letters to Cromwell divulge the information that Plockhoy was not alone in his endeavors but "together with some others, lovers of the common good."[16] The first of the three letters is

[12] J. C. van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten,* Haarlem, 1895, pp. 135-237. For reference to Plockhoy, see p. 154.

[13] Copies of the original pamphlets are extant in the British Museum, London. A copy of the first edition of *The Way to the Peace and Settlement of These Nations* . . . is also preserved at the Universiteits Bibliotheek at Ghent. Photostatic copies of all these pamphlets are to be found in the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. *A Way Propounded to Make the poor in these and other Nations happy* . . . with a few short omissions is printed in *Cooperative Review,* Manchester, 1934.

[14] The date is given as follows: "the 24. Jan. 1659. Hollands stile," which indicates that the Continental calendar was used. As the English calendar was ten days retarded, the actual date in England was January 14, 1659.

[15] The full title: "The Way to the Peace and Settlement of These Nations, Fully Discovered in two Letters, delivered to his late Highnesse the Lord Protector, and one to the present Parliament, Wherein the liberty of speaking (which every one desires for himself) is opposed against Antichrist, for the procuring of his downfall, who will not grant the same to others; And now published To awaken the publick spirits in *England,* and to raise up an universal Magistrate in Christendome, that can suffer all sorts of people, (of what Religion soever they are) in any one Countrey, as God (the great Magistrate) suffers the same in all Countreys of the world."

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 7.

addressed directly to Parliament and reveals that Plockhoy obtained an interview with Cromwell and "was severall times heard by him with patience." The second edition of this pamphlet, published the same year, is identical with the first except that it contains a fourth letter on the same subject addressed to Richard Cromwell.

The Way to the Peace and Settlement of These Nations . . . is an appeal to the Commonwealth government to establish freedom of speech for all religious sects and inaugurate universal toleration. The petitioner is alternately filled with hope and fear: hope for the good influence such an example would have; fear that the servants of state will be ensnared by the agents of state-churchism.

> I have with much chearfulnesse beheld the great freedome which this Nation (since the putting down the authority of Bishops) doth enjoy, which I hope by degrees, will more and more prevail in the world, to the taking away of all force upon Consciences, that men may be led and governed by reason, as men, and not as beasts, by compulsive power. And that those who are once delivered from the Antichristian Captivity, may not be taken Captive again by others . . . . It is most necessary that the Example of Christ (to reconcile all into one) should be followed; for those that force the Conscience, being not able to bring all under them by worldly power, do commonly manifest their own inclination to be void of Christian love, and forebearance, by gathering into Sects and Schismes, so that besides the great Antichrist, there are many little Antichrists, that endeavour to rise up.[17]

By the appellation "Antichrist" Plockhoy alludes to the Romish church, and by "little Antichrists" reference is made to the leaders of contemporary Protestant churches, particularly the Lutheran and Calvinist state churches. After advising that the "holy Scriptures" be used as a basis for Christian faith, Plockhoy writes,

> This being the only means by forsaking all Men, and humane Forms, to be blessed by Christ (whose honour only is sought) against the Antichrist, contrary to the way of other Kings and Princes, who being separated from Popery, have made themselves unworthy of the blessing of Christ, by giving honour to the bare name of *Luther, Calvin*, and others, instead of giving it to Christ, having been deceived by the little Antichrists. . . .[18]

Throughout the petition Plockhoy delineates the evils of the state-church system of government and warns the Parliament to avoid them. "Suffer by no means (you having respect to the Honour of Christ) that any Confession of Faith be set on the Thone, as equal with the holy Scripture." The state-enforced system of paying tithes for the support of the churches is to "be made null and void." State churches control not only the public meeting places

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

but also the "houses of the poor, or hospitalls" as well as the universities. It is urgent that these "corruptions" be reformed.

Plockhoy advocates the separation of church and state but is not consequential on this point. "Assist not with the sword," he advises rulers, "or money of the Common-wealth any Sect, or person in particular, that you may not hinder the truth. . . . For it belongs only to God and Christ to have dominion over Consciences, and to Magistrates to prevent any from exercising Lordship over the Consciences of others." Plockhoy is certain that secular power and authority is necessary to enforce and protect religious liberty, but he goes a step further and advises the State to nurture and protect a kind of ecumenical Christian society. The truth of the Scriptures is a power in its own merit, he says, but it must be linked with the power of the magistrate in order that Antichrist "may be stormed with two Armies, viz. the Truth against Errour, and the material sword against oppressours." Also, he would have religious services controlled by officers of the state.

The lack of consistency regarding the separation of church and state is related to Plockhoy's dream concerning the abolition of all denominations and the ministerial office. In these concerns, Plockhoy is a true apostle of the Collegiants, as we shall note later. The utopian tendency in many of his ideas arises from the endeavor to fulfill Collegiant ideals in a realistic society. Plockhoy believes that the way to eliminate the clergy is to discontinue state financial support. Temporary support ought to be provided for ministers who lose their jobs, but such support is to be dispensed in such a manner as to discourage the further seeking of that office. Lay persons are to be appointed at the assemblies "to read the holy Scriptures." Magistrates by such measures will avoid identification with a particular sect and will instead be "maintainers" of the Christian religion. Such magistrates will be,

> Fathers and Mediators to bring the good together, out of all Sects, to unite under the name of Jesus, to the end that his Kingdome and Government may be enlarged for an example to *Holland, Denmark, Sweden, France,* and other Kingdomes, who feeling there is not force nor constraint used, will easily be brought to a firm bond of Unity.[19]

To provide common religious meeting-places for all Christians, Plockhoy proposes that the government,

> Institute . . . in every City and in every County throughout *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland,* one general Christian assembling or meeting-place,

[19] *Ibid.,* p. 21.

in such a form, that all people may see one another round about by the help of seats, rising by steps, having before them convenient leaning-places to read and write upon; also one desk aloft on one side or end to hear the holy Scriptures read at a set time, giving freedome after that reading to all people, orderly to confer together concerning the Doctrine and Instruction of their Lord and Master Christ.[20]

This manner of meeting in common assemblies in which the reading of the Scriptures received a central emphasis was characteristic of the Collegiants; it was from such *collegia* that the movement received its name.[21]

There is no evidence to indicate that Richard Cromwell's Parliament of January, 1659, or any later parliament, gave the slightest attention to Plockhoy's proposals. In the beginning months of 1659 the shadows of the Restoration had already begun to fall over the Commonwealth government. Full religious liberty in England was to be postponed to a later date. While Plockhoy's plans failed, and in some details were utopian, he must, nevertheless, be considered as one of the heralds of that religious freedom which modern nations accept and cherish.

Promoter of Economic Co-operation

The second pamphlet which Plockhoy wrote in England is titled, *A Way Propounded to Make the Poor in these and other Nations Happy*[22]. . . . Again, the author signed his name "Peter Cornelius Van Zurick-Zee."[23] The title page indicates the publication date as 1659.[24] It also bears the following note: "Printed for G.C. at the sign of the *Black-spread-eagle* at the West-end of

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[21] Van Slee, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-34.

[22] The full title: "A Way Propounded to Make the poor in these and other Nations happy By bringing together a fit and suitable and well qualified people unto one Household-government, or little-Common-wealth, Wherein every one may keep his property, and be imployed in some work or other, as he shall be fit, without being oppressed. Being the way not only to rid those and other Nations from idle, evil and disorderly persons, but also from all such that have sought and found out many inventions to live upon the labour of others. Whereunto is also annexed an invitation to this Society, or little Common-wealth."

[23] For more than a hundred years "Peter Cornelius" was not identified with Plockhoy. On the original copy of *A Way Propounded* . . . in the British Museum a note in script appears on page 19 as follows: "I believe this pamphlet is written by Hugh Peters who has a servant named Cornelius Glover." This note, made by the seventeenth-century book collector, Thomason, ascribed the pamphlet to Hugh Peters, Cromwell's field-chaplain and secretary. See Bernstein *op. cit.* pp. 274-275. However, in Sir Frederic Morton Eden, *The State of the poor or, an history of the labouring classes in England* . . . (London, 1797) the latter of these pamphlets is listed in Vol. 3, Appendix No. xviii, page CCCLXX, under the name of Plockhoy. As far as I have been able to determine, Eden was the first to ascribe correct authorship to these pamphlets.

[24] In addition to the year, 1659, the date May 28 is written in script on the title page, likely by Thomason.

Paul's Church-yard." We know that G.C. represents the initials of Giles Calvert, bookseller and agent for the Levellers.[25] This suggests that Plockhoy had connections with the radical social reformers of the English Revolution. At the end of this pamphlet there is a postscript as follows: "If any have a desire to speak with him who is instrumentall in the promoting of so good a work; may have knowledge of his residence by inquiring of the Bookseller noted in the title page." The inference of this note, together with the fact that the pamphlet is not listed on the Stationers' Register, indicates that Plockhoy and his friends found it expedient to proceed covertly.

This 36-page pamphlet is divided into two parts. The first contains the detailed plans to bring four sorts of people, "Husbandmen, Marriners, Masters of Arts and Sciences, and Usefull Handy Craft-People, whereof the World chiefly consists out of several sects into one Familie or Household-government. The second part is a lengthy invitation setting forth the moral and Christian reasonableness of the experiment. At the end of the pamphlet several notes are appended which throw considerable light on the activities of Plockhoy.

First, we find a note which reveals that Plockhoy and his colleagues had taken practical steps to form a co-operative community:

> One Society being setled in order (as a nursery) about London, to imploy the poor, we may have a second about Bristol, and another in Ireland, where we can have a great deal of land for little money; and plenty of wood for building of Houses, Ships, and many other thinges.[26]

Another note stipulates that only such persons may join the society who are "honest, rationall, impartiall." Other persons may be employed until they are "fitted and prepared to be members of our Society." This is followed by a long list of seventy-two trades and skills which will be needed in the community.

A letter attached to the invitation sanctions and promotes the schemes of Plockhoy.[27] It was written "by some well affected persons, whose hearts and hands have already joined therein: to stir up all such who are truly sensible of the poor and needy, to carry on this so necessary and charitable a work." The letter states

[25] Bernstein, *op cit.*, pp. 127, 276.

[26] Peter Cornelius (Plockhoy, *A Way Propounded to Make the Poor in these and other Nations Happy . . .*, p. 19.

[27] It is impossible to identify the supporters of Plockhoy's plans. He may have found sympathizers in the large Dutch colony in London, see Charles Wilson, *Holland and Britain* (London, ca. 1945). Plockhoy had much in common with the English republicans and may have had connections with them. His contact with Giles Calvert infers this.

further: Having considered the "general disorder proceeding from riches and poverty," and "the endeavors of our friend Peter Cornelius; to rectifie all such and many other inconveniences," we have resolved "to promote so good and pious a work."

The writers of this letter are serious about their support, for at the end we find the initials of two persons who have each subscribed 100 pounds "towards the raysing of a Stock." The authors state further that this "little commonwealth" will attract many persons so that it can shortly be realized. This optimism is based on "credible information of divers persons, relating that many hundreds in Transilvania, Hungaria, and the Paltsgraves Countrey, from a small beginning have attained not only to a very comfortable life among themselves, but also ability of doing much good to others, not of their Society." The communities referred to are those of the Moravian Anabaptists or Hutterian Brethren.[28] The earlier communities of these Anabaptists were in Moravia, but as a result of German, Turkish, and Tartar invasions (1651) were ruined and moved to the countries mentioned.[29]

What then are the plans for this "Household-government," this "little-Common-wealth" which is to effect such good for mankind? To begin the society, it is advised,

> That some able men (as Fathers) to lay the foundation, for the common-welfare, doe put in a summe of money to raise a Stock, employing the same to buy a piece of land whereupon the Husbandmen, handy Craftsmen, Tradesmen, Marriners, and others (a comming in with their moveables as Cattell, Money, or any other Commodityes) may be secured.[30]

The society is not to be a communistic one. The title of the pamphlet makes this clear, and in the text Plockhoy explains:

> Those that come into our Society shall not be bound to make their goodes Common for (according to the tenth Commandement) none ought to covet another mans goodes.[31]

While members who give their property retain private ownership, they do not receive interest:

[28] Bernstein, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

[29] John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren 1528-1931*, A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty, Goshen, 1931, pp. 57-97. The account of the dispersed communities beginning anew in Hungary and Transylvania is well known, but the community in the Palatinate is less known. Horsch knows about this separate colony: "In the year 1654 a household was established in the city of Mannheim on the Rhine with the permission of the Elector of the Palatinate . . . . It existed until 1684 when it was voluntarily dissolved." Plockhoy likely knew of these communities through his Mennonite connections.

[30] Peter Cornelius (Plockhoy), *A Way Propounded to Make the Poor in these and other Nations Happy. . . .*, p. 5.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

They that will bring in their own landes for the Common service may have security upon the same, and for their moveables upon the landes freely given, only it shall be employed for the common welfare without giving Interest. . . .[32]

There are remarkable provisions in case of death or withdrawal from the society. If a property-holding member dies, such possessions will be allocated to the heirs unless they have been willed to the society. If a member decides to leave, he may have his property returned with a third of the accrued profit. If a young man or woman leaves the society to become married he shall receive some of the accumulated profit of the household. If there happens to be no profit, the members will give him gifts. If the society is dissolved, all creditors are first to be satisfied and the remaining land and money divided "among those poor onely who have brought nothing to the Society, except there be poor kindred of those that (out of love) have given to the stock, such shall have an equal proportion with the others."

The location of the society is neither urban nor rural but a combination of both. The economy is neither agrarian nor commercial but an integration of both supplemented by industry and foreign trading. With the accumulated stock two large houses are to be purchased, "one in (or about the) Citty *viz.* a Warehouse for Merchants or Tradesmen, another in the Countrey near a River for the Husbandmen, Handy Crafts people, School-masters and Marriners." The urban dwelling is to be a combination living and manufacturing-sales building, large enough to accommodate twenty to thirty families and places for shops and professional services. Weavers will manufacture cloth, tailors prepare clothing, shoemakers make shoes. Barbers, physicians, skilled workers in bookkeeping and navigation will serve the society and community. They will render their services to the rich "for money and the poor gratis." The "warehouse" (department store) will not suffer from competition and will be profitable and expand for three reasons: increasing sales due to low prices, low overhead, and good morale on the part of the workers. The morale will be high because the profit is used for the common good. Furthermore, the margin of profit will be greater because of production on a large scale.

The large house in the country will have much land and many farm animals to produce raw materials for manufacture and sale in the department store. The craftsmen will build boats and ships to transport the goods to the store and also to trade abroad. Along

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

the river a quay will accommodate the ships. Around the house a moat and drawbridge, "to be secured at night," will protect from thieves and robbers. In this large house there are private and public rooms: "a chamber & a closset for every man & his wife," and great halls for eating and "to dress victuals." There are to be cellars for meat and drink, a place for the sick, a place for physicians with their medicines, and another for books and maps, and finally a place for strangers to lodge.

Plockhoy combines good business principles and practices with his social and religious concerns. Every six or twelve months an inventory will be taken and "what is overpluss above necessity" will be given to members of the society "so that every one may have wherewithal to give to the poor or to please his friend." A number of features are designed to attract the bourgeois elements of society. The children of rich people not in the society are invited to come to the household schools. These schools will have the "ablest masters" and thus establish a good reputation. The training of the children of the rich will be a point of contact and attract the parents to "buy wares of us." In the city department store some person will necessarily need to decorate and trim garments in the styles of the day. However, customers desiring such elaborate clothing will bring the "unnecessary trimmings" to the store as they will not be for sale there. Members of the society will wear no trimmings on their clothing so that in time "vain-glorious men" may be convinced of their folly. In the society, apparel is to "be fitted for the body, and convenient for the work without being tyed to fashion, colour, of stuff, only the unnecessary trimmings to be forborn, that Gods creatures, which he hath made, be not misused." If any one wears finer clothing it shall be a sign to the poor that "he hath ability above others to relieve them."

The government of the society will be democratic.

> A man about 40. yeares of age, shall be chosen chief Governour of the whole Society, every one giving his voyce for him, that he judgeth to be fit. . . . None is to rule longer than one year, least he domineer in his office, and others seeking his favour, play the Hippocrites. . . . This man having governed one year, a new choice shall be made, with liberty to choose him again that last governed as well as any body else, by this meanes he that hath a mind to continue in the Government will have an inducement to rule well. . . .
>
> Here none is to be chosen for his riches or wealth, as we see come to pass in the world (to the ruine almost of all commonwealths,) but for his wisdome. Men and women having the oversight of meat, drink, and other things, shall govern by turns, and in some case some would rather keep to their ordinary work, they shall be passed by, and others put in their stead.[33]

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 10.

Three of the men "uppermost in the Government" will have the keys to the cash box or treasury which will be locked with three locks. Thus, all three men must be present when the chest is opened.

Workmen will not suffer from the oppression of employers by performing heavy labour and receiving low wages, but instead "the gain of the tradesmen will redound to the benefit and refreshment of the workmen." There will be no need for insurance for all liabilities will be assumed by the society. Tradesmen will not need to worry about risks and losses "for the loss that is suffered lieth upon none in particular." There is no need to make provisions for old age "for the aged will be better looked after than the young, the sick than the healthfull, and the children after the death of their parents than before." If any fall sick he will not only have good services from a physician but will be "freed from all worldly incumbrances" pertaining to the well-being of his family. Widows will be cared for along with their children. "Those among us that desire to marry, will not so easily (having seen one anothers conversation) be deceived, as they are now in the World." The society will be conducive to good family life.

In the proposals for this co-operative society, as in the petition for religious liberty, Plockhoy advocates the elimination of all denominational differences in religious faith and practice.

> For in spirituall things, we acknowledg none but Christ for head and Master; Who of old hath appoynted in his Church Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers, these having through the spirit of God (which led them into all truth) brought forth (and left behind them) the writings of the new Testament, we own for Ambassadors, and their wordes (without any interpretations of men) for our rule and Plummet, keeping in remembrance when we meet together, that we must allow that liberty of speaking, to others, which we desire our selves, without tying any one to our opinion, maintaining a firm friendship with such, who have renounced all unreasonable thinges contrary to Scripture. . . .
>
> We intend that we may bring the good people out of all sects to Unity, setting out meeting-place open to all rational men, strictly watching that Antichrist (who exalts himself above others) may be continually shut out by exactly observing that no preheminency or sole priviledge be granted to any . . . so that every one being at liberty, and unhindered may bring forth that which is most conducing to the common welfare, according to the words of *Paul,* I Cor. 14.26.[34]

A meeting-place, with seats in amphitheatre form, and an emphasis on the reading of the holy Scriptures, "giving liberty (after that reading) to every one to propound," will be provided. In the schools "the Children are not to be taught any Humane forms of Religion, but the writings of the Saints, and natural Arts, Sciences

[34] *Ibid.,* p. 16.

and Languages, that their understandings (before they have the use of reason) be not spoyled . . . . So doing there will be no foundation for sects, fractions, and schismes layd in their heartes."

In the second part of the pamphlet, the invitation to join the society, a fervent appeal is made on the basis of Christian love and brotherliness. Its style and manner of argument are quite different from the preceding part of the pamphlet.[35] Its chief thesis asserts that Christ abolished all class and religious differences and the goal of creation is Christian fellowship and brotherliness.

> But how far doth Christ excell all others in love, who by his doctrine and example, hath influenced a partnership or Society of mutuall love; by the denomination of Brethren; abolishing amongst his disciples, all preheminency, or domineering of one over another, requiring that the gifts and means of subsistence in the world, (for necessity and delight) should be Common; . . . so that all Christendome ought to be meerly a certain great fraternity consisting of such as (having denyed the world and their own lustes) conspire together in Christ, the sole head and spring of love; doing well to one another, and for his sake distribute their goods to those that stand in need.[36]

Throughout the invitation a strong note of disdain for the world exists. "Do but now cast up thy account; Oh man! how dearly thou hast ventured to buy the friendship of the World, . . . Thou hast trimmed and decked thy body, and in apparel thou hast been passing sumptuous that some silly creature might gaze on thee with admiration: In feast thou hast been prodigal . . . thou hast dawbed thy house with many colours, to cause them to stand still that pass by." In another passage the worldly desire to seek degrees and positions of honour, as well as the use of titles, is castigated. Riches and estates, he says, and the seeking of honor and dignity "shut the door against true love."

Plockhoy's proposals for the establishment of a co-operative community reveal remarkable economic insight and business acumen.[37] He senses the close relationship between religious and economic factors in undertaking such an experiment. He outlines a sound economic base for his "little commonwealth." As a native of Holland, coming from a predominantly city culture, he discerns the organic connection between agriculture and industry supplemented by commerce. For the social and religious well-being of

[35] The Invitation is a separate part but its pagination is continuous with the pamphlet. The full title is: "An Invitation to the aforementioned Society or little Common-wealth: Shewing the excellency of the true Christian love, and the folly of all those who consider not to what end the Lord of Heaven and Earth hath created them."

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[37] Bernstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-289.

man, his combination of urban and rural living is almost ideal. Plockhoy avoids the extreme isolation, otherworldliness, and asceticism which characterize so many socialistic experiments undertaken before and after his day.[38] The diatribes against the clergy and organized religion, which are found in the pamphlet, should be understood as a part of the Collegiant concerns of Plockhoy. His society has a dual purpose: an economic one and a religious one. The poor are to be helped and a Christian fellowship across denominational lines is to be created. Many of his ideas, in regard to economics, have a utopian flourish; nevertheless, they must be considered as flickerings of the modern lights of co-operation and socialism.[39]

Again, as in the case of Plockhoy's plans for religious liberty, it is necessary to relate that the proposals for the co-operative community failed. Likely time gave him and his friends little opportunity to test their practicality, for in the following year the Restoration of Charles II was accomplished. Nothing is known concerning the "nursery" begun in London or about the projects mapped for Bristol and Ireland. Plockhoy exposed himself as a spokesman for the most radical democratic reform, and no doubt found it judicious to leave the country. At least we know that by the year 1662 he was in Amsterdam writing a pamphlet to describe a proposed "co-operative Company or Colony" in the New Netherlands.

Colonizer in The New Netherlands

The repeated failure in England did not seem to discourage Plockhoy or daunt his initiative. In Amsterdam, in the year 1662, a small pamphlet in the Dutch language appeared, the title of which might be translated as follows: *Brief and Concise plan serving as a mutual Agreement to lighten the labour, anxiety, and difficulty of all kinds of Handcraft-workers by the establishment of a co-operative Company or Colony . . . on the South River in The New Netherlands. . . .*[40] The pamphlet has fourteen pages, although they are not numbered.

[38] See Kautsky, et al., *p. cit.* For a popular summary of communistic communities see *Travel* (Magazine), July, 1948, pp. 10-14. In the first half of the nineteenth century nearly 300 such communities existed in the United States.

[39] See Quack, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-214; Bernstein, op. cit., p. 289.

[40] The full title is: "Kort en klaer ontwerp, dienende tot Een onderling Accoort om Den arbeyd / onrust en moeyelijckheyt / van Alderley-hand-wercx-luyden te verlichten Doon Een onderlinge Compagnie ofte Volck-planting (onder de protectie van de H: Mo: Heeren Staten Generael der vereenigde Neder?landen; en bysonder onder het gunstig gesag van de Achtbare Magistraten der Stad Amstelredam) aen de Zuyt-revier in Nieu-neder-land op te rechten; Bestande in Land-bouwers, Zee-var-

This time Plockhoy and his friends possessed a signed contract from the city officials of Amsterdam endorsing the establishment of a colony in the New World. This contract was signed on June 9, 1662, and together with seal and signature is reproduced in the pamphlet. The burgomasters state that they are favorably inclined to the setting up of this colony and consequently have drawn up this contract with Plockhoy.

> He, Pieter Cornelisz. Plockhoy, undertakes to present to us, as soon as possible, 24 men, who, with himself, making a society of 25 persons, will bind themselves to depart by the first ship or ships to the aforesaid city's colony to reside there and to work at the cultivation of the land, fishing, handicraft, etc., to be as diligent as possible, not only that they should live properly by such labor, but that provision may thereby be made for other coming persons and families.

In the New Netherlands, along the Delaware River at a place named "Hoere-kil,"[41] the colonists are to choose land for themselves or at other places not already possessed. To encourage this project the burgomasters declare the colonists to be free for twenty years from the tithe (for the support of the state church) and any other taxes. Also a loan of 100 guilders will be granted to each man to purchase necessary equipment and pay passage. Wives and children will receive the ocean voyage at the expense of the city.[42] The loans are to be repaid according to the stipulations in the contract. The city officials will expect the colonists to abide by the contract.

From a gloss in the pamphlet we learn that Plockhoy hoped to interest as many as "100 men or families" in the proposed colony. This was the purpose for which the pamphlet was written and published. From the resolution book of the Amsterdam City Council we learn that action was taken on April 20, 1662, to assist "25 Mennonist families" who "had declared their inclination to remove and reside in the city's colony in New Netherland."[43] No doubt

ende Personen, Alderhande noodige Ambachts-luyden, en Meesters van goede kunsten en wetenschappen. Steunende op de voor-rechten van hare Achtbaerheden (als hier na volgt) tot dien eynde verleent."

[41] This is the spelling as found in the pamphlet. In keeping with the Dutch it is directly translated into "Whorekill" by Brodhead and others. "Horekill" is also frequently used in English texts. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 19, says "Horekill also Hoornkill originated from Hoorn in Holland." This is incorrect. Towards the end of the seventeenth century William Penn renamed the place "Lewes" which name it bears today.

[42] These concessions were granted because the City of Amsterdam was in dire straits to find colonists to settle in the territory on the South River. See Bertus Harry Wabeke, *Dutch Emigration to North America 1624-1860* New York, 1944, pp. 45-58.

[43] J. R. Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York Procured in Holland, England, and France,* Albany, 1856, 1857. Vol. II, p. 176.

these families formed the basis on which the burgomasters made the contract with Plockhoy on June 9 of the same year.

Two poems appear in *Brief and Concise Plan . . .* by the authors Karel ver Loove and Jacob Steendam.[44] Both these men were friends of Plockhoy;[45] at least they wrote their poems especially for his pamphlet. The poem by Ver Loove is a sonnet on the maxim, "Union is Strength," and is dedicated to the friends of "the mutual company or colony in the New Netherlands." The poem by Steendam is a lavish eulogy of eleven stanzas regarding the natural glories and economic opportunities in The New Netherlands.[46]

At the close of the pamphlet we find two notes. The first is a reminder, similar to the one in his English pamphlet, that only reasonable and impartial persons will be accepted in the society. This Dutch pamphlet adds that no "unruly swearers, drunkards, or other evil working persons" will be accepted. The final note announces that "those disposed to join our company must be ready to make the trip by the middle of September of this year 1662 at the latest." Prospects are to give their names as soon as possible in order that provisions for one year may be prepared.

In the short compass of five pages Plockhoy describes the proposed colony. Many of the ideas are similar to those advanced in England. The purpose is largely social and economic. Since so many families throughout the land, who, "because of poverty, sickness, death or other misfortune, are able to secure little success of advancement, have we, lovers of humanity, in order to better our own and our neighbors' welfare, undertaken . . . to establish a cooperative company or society upon the South River in New Netherlands." It will be "composed of a peaceful, unified, and selected people who will assist each other . . . in agriculture, fishing, handicrafts, etc., to arrive at the desired goal." The society will not be a communistic one; "each is allowed to have his goods and dwelling apart."

[44] Steendam resided in New Netherlands from 1650 to about 1660 at which time he returned to Holland. In 1665 he left for the Dutch East India possessions and died in Batavia as the superintendent of an orphan house. Because he had written a number of poems describing the New Netherlands, he is considered the first poet in the colony. There are at least three editions of his poems in English: A pamphlet by Henry C. Murphy, published in The Hague in 1861 for private distribution; Henry C. Murphy, *Anthology of New Netherland, a Translation from the Early Dutch Poets of New York, with Memoirs of Their Lives,* New York 1865; (William Loring Andrews), *Jacob Steendam Noch Vaster, A Memoir of the First Poet in New Netherland with Translations of His Poems Descriptive of the Colony,* New York, 1908.

[45] Hylkema, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, pp. 103-106.

[46] For an English translation of the poem see Andrews, *op. cit.,* pp. 55-62.

The government of the colony and the election of the leader, as well as the system for keeping a treasury, are similar to that described before. Labor will be organized on a co-operative basis and the common profits shared.

The profits of farming, fishing, minerals or any labor will be dispersed not according to the total families, but according to individual persons, sick as well as healthy, who are 20 years of age and above. . . . The married persons under 20 will begin to receive their profit from the year in which they are married. . . .

Those in our society who are engaged in farming or any other labor will work each day for 6 hours (with the exception of the Sabbath, and when everything is in order) for the general profit or arrange to have another work in his place. The remaining hours may be used for personal profit, in recreation or useful exercises. For this purpose the married and unmarried men above 20 years of age may each choose, except from the community plantation, a piece of land for his own private lot on which to plant, build or foster whatever he thinks best. In regard to the sea-going persons and others whose work cannot be completed within certain hours, they will have the advantage (in order to receive equal benefits, as much as feasible, with the handicraftsmen and farmers) of certain additional profits instead of a private lot.

All labor will be honorable and all classes recognized. Confidence will be placed in each person to prove himself by diligence in work. "Also no lordship or slavery shall burden our company." If a person disobeys the regulations of the community, and after reasoning still proves to be incorrigible, he may be expelled from the colony by a majority vote of the members. If anyone wishes to return to Holland before his loan has been paid, he may do so by transferring to the society his share in land and cattle and taking only his private property with him. His family will be transported at the expense of the colony.

Religious toleration will maintained in the community. No creed or confession of faith will be accepted; only the "holy Scriptures" will form the basis for worship in a common meeting house. If any persons of a particular sect wish to have their own meeting house and ministers, they will be free to do so. All children will be taught at a common school, unless some members desire a private school at their own expense. "Natural sciences and languages" will be taught, and the Scriptures, rather than "human formulas of religion."

Members who have scruples against using weapons for the protection of the colony will be excused upon the payment of a certain sum of money towards the support of the guards.

Anyone who for conscientious reasons is unable to use military weapons will (in order to be released from training and guarding) pay yearly a cer-

tain tax or contribution for the privilege (in case it is desired). It will be paid to those whose work actually is (as we only accept defensive warfare) to arrange for soldiers and order as occasion demands, to see to the daily training for the use of weapons, and to prepare the ammunition.[47]

The exact number of persons who joined Plockhoy's society is not known, probably not many more than the original twenty-five families. The company did not sail until the following spring, May 5, 1663, when they departed from Rotterdam on the ship *St. Jacob*.[48] This same ship arrived at the Horekill in July, 1663, and left behind "41 souls with their baggage and farm utensils."[49] Whether this was the entire society or not, we do not know. Evidently the colony succeeded in getting under way and maintained peaceful relations with the Indians. However, fourteen months later, when the Dutch lost New Netherlands to the English, the co-operative society of Plockhoy suffered the fate of her sister colonies. In September, 1664, Sir Robert Carr, an English naval commander, was sent to demand the submission of the Dutch colonies on the Delaware. The chief fort at New Amstel resisted but was soon taken by the English. Carr, infuriated, confiscated all property and shipped the Dutch soldiers to Virginia to be sold into servitude. He also sent a boat to the Horekill, a considerable distance to the south, which demolished and plundered the colony there.[50] A report sent to Amsterdam in 1684 states that all the possessions of the city of Amsterdam were robbed and occupied "as alsoe what belonged to the Quaking society of Plockhoy to a very naile."[51]

No evidence exists to determine the effect these cruel adversities had upon Plockhoy and his fellow-colonists. Certainly, the colony was severely disrupted and the co-operative enterprise abandoned, if it was ever begun. Various writers have surmised that the colonists were taken to Virginia as slaves or that some of them by circuitous routes found their way back to Holland. There is some evidence, however, to show that a number of Dutch inhabitants resided at the Horekill during the years that followed.[52] It hap-

[47] This type of exemption payment was not original with Plockhoy. Mennonites in Holland in the seventeenth century were excused from military service upon the payment of sums of money. See N. van der Zijpp, *De Vroegere Doopsgezinden en de Krijgsdienst* (Wolvega, 1930), pp. 20-25.

[48] Brodhead, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, pp. 428, 429.

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 436, 437.

[50] For a detailed account of Carr's conduct see E. B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland or New York under the Dutch*, New York, 1848, Vol. II, pp. 465-469.

[51] Brodhead, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 342.

[52] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 605, 663.

pened, however, that Plockhoy with his wife, almost thirty years later, found his way into the Mennonite settlement at Germantown, Pennsylvania.[53]

Plockhoy's residence at Germantown is known from two entries into the court record of the Borough of Germantown. An extract from the entry for "25th of the 11th month 1694/5" states, "to the blind man, Cornelis Plockhoy, is citizenship granted as a gift." From these entries we also learn that Plockhoy was given a small lot "upon which shall be built a house with a garden and which shall be his as long as he and his wife are living." Jan Doeden and William Rittenhuysen, members of the Mennonite congregation, were to take up a free-will offering and have the house built.[54] Thus the wanderings and labors of Plockhoy came to a peaceful end in a village of his own people.

Dutch Backgrounds

For a few decades in the seventeenth century all roads led to The Netherlands. Commercially, Holland was the entrepot of Europe. Industrially, she was the most advanced nation in the world. As a maritime power, she had defeated Spain and rivaled England. Cultural glory came in the wake of superior commercial and political advance. At the time Plockhoy was in England, Rembrandt and Vermeer were painting their canvases; Vondel was writing his dramas; Spinoza had joined the Collegiants; and Descartes had come to Amsterdam.

Plockhoy represented this contemporary Dutch background in many ways. Who but a native of Holland would have planned a "little commonwealth" with complements of industry, ship-building, and commerce? Who but a contemporary of Rembrandt would have made provision to foster the arts and sciences? Who but a countryman of Grotius would have thrown off the bands of organized religion and proposed education on a humanistic basis? Plockhoy realized that the ideal community would have to begin with religious persons who were "reasonable and impartial," but his projects are far cries from the asceticism and rigorism of religious

[53] S. W. Pennypacker discovered these particulars about the latter days of Plockhoy from a study of early records pertaining to the settlement of Germantown. They were first published in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. IV., 1880, pp. 1-41, in an article titled "The Settlement of Germantown and the Causes Which Let to It." From this source later historians, Quack, Hylkema, Bernstein, and others drew their information. Also see S. W. Pennypacker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches,* Philadelphia, 1883, pp. 50, 51.

[54] These extracts may be found in the court records as contained in *The Germantown Rathbuch.* Also see Naaman H. Keyser, et al., *History of Old Germantown,* Philadelphia, 1907, Vol. I, p. 19.

orders. Plockhoy's communities not only foster religious development, but they are cultural centers of a high order. Furthermore, they are economic enterprises. In all his planning, Plockhoy was as discerning about economic organization as he was concerned about religious toleration.

As Plockhoy often indicated when writing his name, he was from Zierikzee, at that time an important commercial town in the province of Zeeland. The date of his birth is not known,[55] but if the information obtained by Prof. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer is correct, his parents were N. N. Plockhoy and Jacquemijntje Pieters.[56] Sometime before 1662 his mother became a widow and moved to Amsterdam with a certificate of membership from the Mennonite congregation at Middelburg. This suggests that the family and home of Plockhoy was Mennonite. Mennonite congregations existed at both Zierikzee and Middelburg and at the time of Plockhoy's youth were strong and vigorous.

The Mennonite congregation at Zierikzee was a distinctive one and doubtless helped to form the mind-set of Plockhoy as well as that of his more renowned fellow townsman, Galenus Abrahams de Haan. This congregation refused to choose affiliation with either the Flemish or Frisian wings of the Mennonite denomination and as a result was banned by both parties. This had taken place in 1570 and consequently the believers there were called "still-standers." The congregation also refused to accept an overture from the Waterlanders, another party of the Mennonites.[57] Thus, we surmise that Plockhoy and Galenus Abrahams may have entertained independent religious ideas before they came to Amsterdam and supported the Collegiant movement.

In the literature directed against the Collegiants we find the name of Abrahams and Plockhoy mentioned together.[58] No doubt

[55] W. E. Griffis, *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,* New York, 1911, Vol. IX, p. 93 states that Plockhoy was born about 1600 and died about 1674. This is incorrect for we know that he was at Germantown in 1694. Possibly a better estimate might be 1625-1700.

[56] See correspondence between Quack and Prof. de Hoop Scheffer as recorded in Quack, *op, cit.,* pp. 215, 216. Much of the information supplied by de Hoop Scheffer is incorrect. In Quack, p. 215, he writes that Plockhoy was baptized on February 23, 1670; we know that Plockhoy sailed for America in 1663. De Hoop Scheffer in his article "Het tweede eeuwgetijde van de vestiging der Duitschers in Noord-Amerika," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen,* 1884, pp. 76, 77, states inaccurately that Plockhoy left for America in 1662, that each colonist received a loan of 20 guilders, and that Plockhoy's son came to Germantown.

[57] F. S. Knipscheer, "Geschiedenis van het stil en het stemmelijk gebed bij de Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen,* 1897, pp. 106-109. Also see S. Blaupot ten Cate, *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht en Gelderland,* Amsterdam, 1847, Eerste Deel, pp. 124, 125.

[58] See *Lammerenkrijgh* (no pagination).

they greatly influenced each other; at least they were about the same age, both from Zierikzee, both at Amsterdam at the same time, and had some ideas in common. Abrahams was born in 1622, and in 1648 was called to be a minister in the Flemish Mennonite church in Amsterdam. Here he became an outstanding leader for the remainder of the century not only among the Mennonites but seems to have greatly influenced the Collegiant movement in favor of Mennonite principles.[59] Plockhoy seems to have been more active as a Collegiant than as a Mennonite.

The occupation of Plockhoy is not known. He seems to have had considerable learning. He was well known in a certain radical circle of poets in Amsterdam and possibly turned his hand to literary pursuits.[60] At least, he was an accomplished pamphleteer.[61]

Most of the information we have concerning Plockhoy as a Collegiant pertains to charges brought against him for teaching and proposing polygamy. These charges came from the bitter opponents of Abrahams and his Collegiant party. In the pamphlet, *Lammerenkrijgh: Anders/Mennonisten Kercken-Twist . . .* , we discover the accusation that "Pieter Plokhoy, a fellow-countryman of Abrahams, asserts upon Scriptural authority that a man should have as many wives as he can support." In the same tract we note, in connection with a charge of diversity among the Collegiants, that Plockhoy had a following known as the "Plokhoyisten." This likely denotes a small group within the movement. The same charge, in still more acrid tones, is recorded against Plockhoy by Lambertus Bidloo, the most bitter opponent of the Collegiants.[62]

As a later Dutch Mennonite writer has observed concerning these charges against Plockhoy, "Such stories teach us, of course, very little regarding the Collegiants themselves, but rather reveal how their opposers judged them." No doubt the charges in these polemical tracts are exaggerated, nevertheless, the repetition would

[59] Van Slee, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-157.

[60] Hylkema, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 102-106.

[61] In addition to the pamphlets discussed in this paper, it is possible that Plockhoy was the author or joint-author of an anonymous pamphlet *Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants . . .* , Amsterdam, 1662. G. M. Asher, *A Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets Relating to New Netherland,* Amsterdam, 1868, pp. 205-208, advances a number of arguments against the Plockhoy authorship. O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, p. 467 assumes that the articles printed in the anonymous pamphlet apply to the Plockhoy colony. While the date of publication, references to Mennonites and the plans for a colony fit into the Plockhoy project, it is difficult to understand why Plockhoy remained anonymous. The stipulation excluding Catholics, Jews, Quakers, Puritans from the society hardly corresponds with Plockhoy's Collegiant position.

[62] Lambertus Bidloo, *Onbepaalde Verdraagzaamheid de verwoesting der Doopsgezinden,* Amsterdam, 1701.

suggest at least some ground for the offense. However, let us look elsewhere to establish the veracity of the charge. From the poetry of Jan Zoet we learn that at a gathering of poets, Zoet himself proposed extemporizing in verse on the question of whether or not the Bible and Christianity permit the practice of polygamy.[63] Karel Ver Loove and Jacob Steendam, poets who wrote verses for Plockhoy's *Brief and Concise Plan . . .*, were present and partook in the writing and seemed to have been insulted at the proposal. Zoet then endeavored to clear himself by replying that polygamous ideas had their origin with Pieter Plockhoy. Ver Loove and Steendam replied by further indicting Zoet along with Plockhoy. The issue seems to have created considerable feeling within the circle of poets and finally Steendam wrote a satirical masque in which Plockhoy along with David Joris, Jan van Leyden, and several others are listed as the patriarchs of polygamy.[64]

This evidence, along with the references in the polemical tracts, is conclusive in establishing Plockhoy's entertainment of polygamous ideas. There is no evidence that he or any of the Collegiants practiced polygamy. Likely such ideas were only raised for discussion and later seized upon by the enemies of the movement. It is known that various radical opinions were entertained among the Collegiants.[65] In the broad rationalistic and mystical lines which the Collegiant movement followed, it is not surprising that extreme and radical ideas appeared.

In the writings of Plockhoy we discern no trace of polygamous ideas. From what evidence we have of his personal life, we know that he was married and that his wife accompanied him in his old days at Germantown. He seems to have been a respected man in Amsterdam and able to gain the confidence of the town officials in drawing up a contract for a colonization effort. No doubt, Plockhoy's expression in favor of polygamy was speculation about Christian freedom.

Apostle of the Collegiants

At various places in this paper we have alluded to influences which affected the life of Plockhoy, particularly his ideas and plans.

[63] Jan Klaasz, *d'Uystekenste Digt-Kunstige werkken door Jan Zoet, Amsterdammer, T' Amsterdam,* Hoorn, 1675, pp. 376-380.

[64] For interpretation of these events see Hylkema, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, pp. 176-177. Hylkema is conclusive in indicting Plockhoy, although he admits there is no evidence to ascertain that polygamy was practiced. Hylkema seemingly was not aware of Plockhoy's activities in England and questions whether the Delaware colonists were Mennonites.

[65] For example, certain Collegiants by the names of Hartigvelt and Gightel went to the opposite extreme and taught that Platonic love was the ideal of the marriage relation. See Hylkema, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 176, 177.

His resourcefulness in planning the economic and cultural life of his "little commonwealth" indicates that he was a typical Dutchman of his time. Coming from Holland where state-churchism was rampant, we readily understand his concerns for the establishment of religious liberty.

It has also been pointed out that Plockhoy likely came from a Mennonite home and congregation. However, distinctive Mennonite principles or practices are nowhere revealed in the writings of Plockhoy, other than those which harmonize with the convictions of the Collegiants, such as the authority of the Scriptures and the freedom of the Christian believer. Possibly Plockhoy's care about the simplicity of dress in his English experiment is Mennonite plainness.[66]

Three times, twice in England and once in America, Plockhoy sought to realize a co-operative Christian community. Was the concept of such an experiment original with him? Troeltsch thinks he was influenced by the Moravian Anabaptists.[67] We have noted the reference in Plockhoy's pamphlet to these Hutterite communities. Being a Collegiant and in touch with Anabaptists, it is reasonable to believe that he was interested in and sympathized with the Anabaptists in central Europe. However, there were distinct differences. The Hutterite communities were communistic; the Plockhoy communities had limited private property. The Hutterites were a distinct sect; Plockhoy was ultra-antisectarian. There appear to be some similarities in household organization, however. Troeltsch and Quack believe that Plockhoy also may have been influenced by the Labadists, a contemporary mystical-community sect. In addition to these possible sources, we might also add that the English revolutionaries, particularly such utopian experimenters as Lilburne and Winstanley, had some influence on Plockhoy during his residence in London.

Plockhoy was also a Collegiant. Whether petitioning Cromwell or planning an ideal society, Plockhoy always hoped to realize the common Christian fellowship, nonsectarian in organization, without the ministerial office, and provided with meeting places for reading the Bible. Let us notice some of the characteristics and con-

[66] Downie, *op. cit.*, p. 26, not knowing Plockhoy's Mennonite background, remarks, "Quaker influence appears in the condemnation of trimmings."

[67] Ernest Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches,* London, 1931, Vol. II, p. 712.

cerns of the Collegiant movement as it existed in Holland.[68] Van Slee describes the Collegiant concept of the Christian church as follows:

> "The Christian church has decayed since the days of the Apostles. The extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, which were given to a few, ceased and God has been pleased not to continue them. Therefore no one has the exclusive right to teach, establish, or formulate the faith of the church. . . . The holy Scriptures, which contain the message of Jesus and the Apostles, is consequently the only rule of faith.[69]

The Collegiants became "anticlerical, anticreedal, and antiritualistic." They advocated, instead of the ministerial office, "that each brother have the liberty to speak publicly in the church regarding the interpretation of the holy Scriptures," also, "that one may have fellowship with all who accept the holy Scriptures."[70]

The Collegiants held that divine, authoritative truth is confirmed by special signs and miracles, as was the case of the New Testament. This point was strongly emphasized by Galenus Abrahams.[71] Plockhoy, in his first English pamphlet, wrote: "After the same manner also hath it been since the time of the Apostles in Christendome, that instead of the holy Scriptures only (having been confirmed by miracles) which should be held a rule of faith; yet some (being lovers of selves) have taken upon them a dominion, jointly with Christ."[72] The meeting for worship and edification, the *collegia prophetica,* which the Collegiants advocated and practiced, was proposed by Plockhoy for all his communities. The amphitheatre seating arrangement, however, seems to have been original with Plockhoy, although it may simply be an extension on a grand scale of the Collegiant fashion of sitting informally around a table or in a circle.

A major concern of Plockhoy's which must be considered is his proposal to better the lot of the poor and underprivileged. His communities were designed to help the oppressed economically. We know that the Collegiants, early in the movement, linked their

[68] Careful studies of the Collegiant movement have been made by Van Slee and Hylkema. The latter pertains more particularly to a delineation of the movement in Mennonite circles. Simeon Frederik Rues, *Tegenwoordige Staet der Doopsgezinden of Mennoniten in de Vereenigde Nederlanden; Waeragter komt een Berigt van de Rynsburgers of Collegianten . . . ,* Amsterdam, 1745, is an interesting source. Rues, a German scholar, visited the Netherlands at the end of the seventeenth century, and gave a firsthand report and account of the Collegiants in an extended appendix to his book.

[69] Van Slee, *op. cit.,* pp. 267-287.

[70] Rues, *op. cit.,* pp. 275-330.

[71] Troeltsch, *op. cit.,* p. 766.

[72] Peter Cornelius (Plockhoy), *The Way to the Peace and Settlement of These Nations . . . ,* p. 9.

toleration with "works of love."[73] In Amsterdam, the Oranje-Appel home for orphans was a joint (Collegiant-Mennonite) community center and house of mercy. However, the Collegiant influence is hardly sufficient to explain Plockhoy's endeavors for economic and social betterment. No doubt his contact with English reformers greatly influenced him in these concerns.[74]

The Influence of Plockhoy

Plockhoy hoped and labored to realize the blessed community. He failed. In all three of his experiments he was frustrated by the political circumstances of his time and did not have the opportunity to test the workableness of his ideas. Having failed in the realization of any permanent colony or community, what influence, if any, did Plockhoy have on the economic, social, or religious developments of his age?

Considerable speculation has been made on this point. Quack sees him as a possible forerunner of Owen and Fourier.[75] Pennypacker sees Plockhoy "as the originator of those socialistic and communal views which later led Hawthorne, Thoreau, and Emerson to undertake such a life at Brook Farm."[76] Griffis hails him as "the father of modern socialism."[77] Downie says, "If our Co-operative Movement must have a Father or a founder, Peter Cornelius Plockhoy has an excellent claim to that distinction." [78]

No evidence exists to indicate that Plockhoy began any kind of specific movement. While it is recognized that John Bellers, a Quaker contemporary, greatly influenced Robert Owen at a later date, there is no known connection between Bellers and Plockhoy. Some comparisons between Bellers' "college of labor" and Plockhoy's "little commonwealth" have been made. We may correctly believe, however, that Plockhoy's efforts in London produced a coterie of sympathizers who in a general way contributed to the upsurge of economic and social reform in England. In Holland, in the year 1688, a certain Abraham van Akkeren falsely published

[73] Rues, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-318; Van Slee, op. cit., pp. 313-333.

[74] "Though these remarkable pamphlets emanated from a Dutchman, they were written in English and with a full knowledge of English affairs, and from the fact that such speculation was unknown in the Low Countries at this time, (footnote: Except, of course, that of Labadie) it is hardly fanciful to attribute them to English influence." Gooch, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[75] Quack, *op. cit.*, pp. 201, 230.

[76] S. W. Pennypacker, *Pennsylvania, the Keystone*, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 24.

[77] Griffis, *op. cit.*

[78] Downie, *op. cit.*

under his own name a booklet which Quack says "is from beginning to end a translation of Plockhoy's English writing."[79]

In more modern times the writings of Plockhoy have had some influence, particularly among socialist writers and politicians. Notable among these is Eduard Bernstein, the father of Revisionist socialism. Bernstein, who broke with the Communists and more radical socialists, sees in Plockhoy an advocate of many of his own ideas, especially an experimenter who was wise enough to avoid the evils of a communist community. Bernstein concludes his admiration by ranking Plockhoy among the pioneers of modern socialism.[80] Other socialist admirers of Plockhoy are Quack and Downie.

Plockhoy, however, was more than a social reformer. He was also a preacher of religious liberty. This was his original concern and was basic in all his plans for social and economic improvement. The socioeconomic ideas of Plockhoy have received prominence largely because writers, such as Bernstein and Quack, have made a thorough study of his writings and written about his concepts. A full evaluaton of Plockhoy must include his ideas about religious liberty. Plockhoy's plans and schemes are basically religious and he sought to realize them along with their social and economic implications.

Certainly, Plockhoy was only one of the many idealists in the seventeenth century, especially in England, who by radical and utopian concepts sought to erect the blessed community. A study of Plockhoy as such, is a study of a type. Plockhoy, however, is distinctive as a Dutch reformer in England, an apostle of the Collegiants pleading for religious freedom and endeavoring to establish the ideal Christian community. It is this distinctiveness which this paper has endeavored to bring into relief.

[79] Quack, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
[80] Bernstein, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

PLOCKHOY AND HIS SETTLEMENT AT ZWAANENDAEL, 1663 *

LELAND HARDER

A fascinating, untold story in the colonial history of Delaware is the life of Pieter Cornelis Plockhoy, and the small settlement of Dutch "Mennonists" which he established in New Netherland in 1663. Plockhoy's colony, which he hoped would grow and develop into the ideal Commonwealth of love and equality, was destroyed scarcely a year after it was founded in the war for supremacy in the New World between Holland and England. An active but discouraging career of religious, socioeconomic, and political reform seemingly came to an abrupt end in the sparsely populated Province, autocratically administered, and interested chiefly in the profit motive. Such a society had no interest in Utopianists who sought the extinction of dictatorial rule, of slavery, and the evils of capitalism. Thirty years later Plockhoy, with his wife, appealed to the Mennonites at Germantown, Pennsylvania, for aid; the reformer was old, poverty-stricken, and blind. "A painful reflection," states Eduard Bernstein, a German writer, "that so gifted a man should fare so poorly." [1]

It is largely to European scholars that we owe the historical account and interpretation of Plockhoy's endeavors in 17th Century Holland and England. They established, for example, Plockhoy's authorship of two English writings, published in London in 1659, and signed "Peter Cornelius." Several possible authors were considered, including one Hugh Peters, who had written in a similar vein,[2] and another Abraham van Akkeren, who had maliciously claimed the distinction.[3] But when the writings were compared with the prospectus which Plockhoy had issued in Amsterdam to enlist prospective colonists for his settlement on the Delaware, the ideas underlying each were found to be the same, and the wording in many instances identical. The writings belonged to Plockhoy, who had appealed to Oliver Cromwell, then Lord Pro-

* Reprinted from the March, 1949, *Delaware History,* by permission of the author and the publisher.

[1] Eduard Bernstein, *Sozialismus und Demokratie in der Grossen Englischen Revolution.* (Stuttgart, 1922), p. 290.

Bernstein, internationally known economist, was leader of the Revisionist movement in Germany at the turn of the Century.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 274f-275f. Peters' authorship was suggested by an English book collector whose idea was based on the fact that Peters had a servant named Cornelius.

[3] H. P. G. Quack, *Beelden en Groepen.* (Amsterdam: P. N. Van Kampen & Zoon, 1892), pp. 240-242. Quack, the best authority on Plockhoy in Holland, states that a Dutch publication of 1688 under the name of Akkeren was "from the beginning to the end" a plagiarized translation of Plockhoy's second English writing.

tector of the English Commonwealth, to sponsor one of his reform schemes.[4] And on the basis of this scheme and the publication which described it, John Downie of Great Britian argues that British co-operative economics begins, not with Robert Owen, but with Plockhoy.[5]

The presence of this early Dutch philosopher in colonial America, and the extent of his influence in the development of American ideas and institutions, have been treated by few American historians.[6] This seems especially strange inasmuch as the writings of Plockhoy very likely include a fourth, entitled *Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants* (Brief Account of New Netherlands), printed in 1662 without the name of its author, and containing the political framework for an ideal Commonwealth in New Netherland. The articles of government contained therein, which J. Romeyn Brodhead placed "among the most extraordinary of the early memorials of American colonization,"[7] comprise a system of democratic self-government.

It is the specific purpose of this paper to publish the principal documents and to establish the historical facts of Plockhoy's settlement at Zwaanendael, which must necessarily precede any attempt to place him in his proper perspective in American history. A brief outline of Plockhoy's previous activities, treated more at length in the works from which the writer quotes, must suffice.

Plockhoy in Europe

Although little is known concerning his early life, it is evident Plockhoy came from Zierikzee, in the Province of Zeeland, in the Netherlands. His English writings are signed "Peter Cornelius Van-Zurik-Zee" and the Dutch prospectus is signed "Pieter Cornelisz Plockhoy van Zierck-zee." The little evidence available

[4] "The Dutch were accustomed to use a man's patronymic after his Christian name, in such a manner that names of the form Jacobsz, Jacobsen, Jacobzoon (meaning the son of Jacob) are sometimes employed as middle names, and often with entire omission of the surname, e.g., Cornelis Jacobsz for Cornelis May or Cornelis Jacobsz May." J. Franklin Jameson, editor, *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664,* preface vi. This indicates why Plockhoy signed his writings with Peter Cornelius. He had, incidentally, changed the name on a later edition of the second writing to "Peter Cornelisson."

[5] John Downie, *Peter Cornelius Plockhoy: His Life and Work.* (Manchester: Co-operative Printing Society, 1933), p. 27. This brief commentary contains a reproduction of Plockhoy's second writing. Downie, quoting from Bernstein, uses the name "Plockboy" instead of "Plockhoy."

[6] Edward Channing included a brief statement of Plockhoy's Utopian ideas in his work, *A History of the United States,* Vol. II. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908), p. 412.

[7] J. Romeyn Brodhead, *History of the State of New York.* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1874) p. 698.

indicates that he was born in Zierikzee about 1620 of Mennonite parentage.[8]

The Mennonites in this city were banned by their brethren elsewhere as "still-standers" for refusing to become affiliated with one of the various branches of the church, whose differences seemed insignificant.[9] The liberal attitude of the Zierikzee church had an obvious effect on Plockhoy's philosophy, for his first writing was a protest against division and sectarianism in Christendom.

Ideas like these stimulated the growth of a movement known as Collegianism, of which Plockhoy became a great advocate.[10] The Collegiants were not an organized religious body, but as members of several Christian denominations simply met together to discuss the common faith. They believed these meetings, or *collegia,* were far superior to other forms of worship. They believed in separation of church and state, were anti-Calvinistic, and accepted no established creed. When they met together, someone would read a passage of Scripture, perhaps offer an interpretation, after which all were invited to speak.[11]

Plockhoy went to Amsterdam sometime after 1646, where he became a leader of one of the Collegiant groups in the Mennonite church of that city. This same movement a little later split the Amsterdam church into two bodies—the Lammists, upholding the Collegiant views, and the Sunnists, the Conservatives who left the church.[12] Among the charges that were hurled against the Lammists by their adversaries was that Plockhoy went so far with his liberal ideas as to advocate the practice of polygamy, "proclaiming with Scriptural authority that a man may have as many wives as he can support." [13] Although it is quite probable that the Plockhoy Collegiants discussed the implications of polygamy as practiced in Old Testament days, there is nothing in the writings

[8] Leland Harder, "Pioneer of Christian Civilization in America," *Mennonite Life,* IV (January, 1949), p. 42.

Plockhoy's Mennonite origin is not as clearly established, as is the fact that he later associated with the Mennonites of Amsterdam. The Dutch Mennonite historian, de Hoop Scheffer, concludes on the basis of church records that Plockhoy's ancestors were undoubtedly Mennonites. (Quack, *op. cit.,* p. 215f.)

[9] F. S. Knipscheer, "Geschiedenis van het stil en het stemmelijk gebed bij de Vaderlandsche Doopsgezinden," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen,* Vol., 37, edited by S. Cramer, (Leiden, 1897) p. 106.

[10] C. B. Hylkema, *Reformateurs,* Vol. II. (H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon: Haarlem, 1902), pp. 100-106.

[11] E. M. Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), p. 564.

[12] C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites.* (Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1941), pp. 196, 197.

[13] *Lammerenkrygh,* 1663. A copy of this old tract is owned by the Goshen (Indiana) College Historical Library.

of the reformer which would indicate that he personally held such a belief.

Perturbed at the dictatorial rule of the state in religious matters, and much concerned because the various Christian groups, for their disunity and internal strife, could do nothing about it, Plockhoy devised a scheme which employed the Collegiant method to unite the various Christian groups in a federation. There was to be in every community one general Christian assembling place where all could come together for spiritual meditation and an exchange of views concerning Biblical doctrine. This program, which was not designed to replace individual church activities, was considered the only way to abolish religious domination and bigotry. He took his plan to London in 1658, convinced that Commonwealth England was the place to begin this first reform, and hoping that the tolerant-minded Oliver Cromwell would be receptive. After several unsuccessful attempts to interest Oliver, and later his son Richard, Plockhoy as a last resort published the various letters addressed to the English magistrates. He called his pamphlet, *The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations Fully Discovered . . . .*[14]

During the same year and still in London he published his second writing, comprising a new reform scheme much larger in scope than the first. This he entitled *A Way Propounded to Make the Poor in these and other Nations Happy . . . .*[15] This was the initial plan for his ideal Commonwealth, a Christian, semisocialistic settlement based on equality and association, and comprising four classes of people—handicraftsmen, husbandmen, mariners, and masters of arts and sciences. The perilous lure of Communism was avoided in that each member was required to keep his property separate, for according to the 10th Commandment none ought to covet another's goods. "But all skill and experience was to be pooled and common."[16]

Unlike the first, this project was not presented to the magistrates, but was to be inaugurated by individual grants from qualified persons who would then act as "fathers" of the enter-

[14] Peter Cornelius, *The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations, fully discovered in two Letters, delivered to his late Highnesse, and one to the present Parliament, As also one to his Highnesse Richard, Lord Protector, of England, Scottland, and Ireland &c.* (London, 1659).

[15] Peter Cornelius, *A Way Propounded to Make the poor in these and other Nations Happy by Bringing together a fit suitable and well qualified people unto one Household-government, or little-Common-wealth, Wherein every one may keep his property, and be employed in some work or other, as he shall be fit, without being oppressed.* (London, 1659).

[16] John Downie, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

prise. Although it had received some support, the undertaking came to naught in the two years that Plockhoy remained in England. In 1661 he was back in Holland promoting the colony on the Delaware.

Plockhoy in America

The rule of the Dutch in America, of the territory called New Netherlands, is often dated from 1621, with the organization of the Dutch West India Company, until 1664, when the English invaded the Province and assumed control. The first colonists in the Province were under the control of stockholders, or Patroons as they were called. The majority of these settlers were day laborers or indentured servants; but the new *Freedoms and Exemptions* adopted by the Company in 1640 provided for smaller, more liberal grants to free individuals. Plockhoy decided to take advantage of this belated attempt to people the Dutch colony.[17]

He had interested twenty-four Mennonites (families) in his co-operative venture. The identity of these Mennonites has never been established, but it is very likely they came from the Lammist Mennonites of Amsterdam, who would have been most inclined to subscribe to the intellectual freedom and the liberal philosophy of the proposed settlement. This group petitioned the city of Amsterdam, which had authority from the Dutch West India Company to dispose of land on the South (Delaware) River in New Netherland, for a tract of land and 200 guilders[18] in loan to each family. The Amsterdam Council record follows:[19]

Resolution of the Common Council of the City of Amsterdam
20th April, 1662

The Burgomasters have also reported that about 25 Mennonist families had declared their inclination to remove to and reside in the city's colony in New Netherland, if this city would resolve to assist each family to that end with 200 guilders for each, in addition to the passage money, on conditions that such families would jointly and severally bind themselves to repay the same. Which being considered, it is resolved to lend each family 100 gl. on such conditions, the passage money therein included.

Plockhoy seems to have made some additional requests after the Resolution was passed; and on June 6, 1662, he completed a

[17] Just when Plockhoy began negotiating with the Amsterdam magistrates is not certain. It is the writer's conclusion after study and investigation that the various addresses to the Burgomasters, published in the *Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants* (see below), came from the pen of Plockhoy and applied to his New Netherland project. These addresses were circulated during the later part of 1661.

[18] One guilder is presently equal at par to 40.2 cents U. S. money.

[19] *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* Vol. II, p. 176.

contract with the Burgomasters in which he agreed to present the names of the twenty-four persons who with him were to make up the settlement. The contract granted each member as much land as he could use, freedom from taxes for twenty years, and a loan of 100 guilders as previously granted by the Council:[20]

Burgomasters and Magistrates of the City of Amsterdam.

Because we are at all times disposed to advance this city's Colony in New Netherland, therefore have we, with the knowledge and consent of the thirty-six Councillors, concluded to that end the following agreement with Pieter Cornelisz. Plockhoy of Zierikzee:

That he, Pieter Cornelisz. Plockhoy, undertakes to present to us, as soon as possible, the names of twenty-four men, who, with him, will make a Society of twenty-five persons, who will agree to depart by the first ship or ships to the aforesaid colony of this city, to reside there and to work at farming, fishing, handicraft, etc., and to be as diligent as possible not only to live comfortably themselves, but also that provision may thereby be made for others to come.

The aforesaid Society of twenty-five male persons (more or less as they may increase or decrease) shall, for the common welfare and for each individually, take up as much land, provided it belongs to nobody else, at the Horekil or another part of the Colony, as they are willing and able to cultivate and pasture. These lands, divided and undivided, shall be the property of the aforesaid Society and Colonists to use in whichever way seems best.

The aforesaid Colonists shall enact such rules and laws as they think proper for the peace, harmony, and welfare of the Society, with the provision that each person who feels an injustice can appeal to the higher Magistrates, here or there.

The aforesaid Society, and each member individually, shall be exempt from all tithes and taxes, however they may be named, for twenty years.

To the aforesaid twenty-five persons shall be paid in loan one hundred guilders to provide the needs of each individually, and also to cover the cost of transportation (the wives and children being transportated at the expense of this city according to the printed Conditions.)

The aforesaid twenty-five Colonists shall bind themselves as a group to repay the aforesaid 2,500 guilders to this city, according to article 21 and 22 of the Conditions recently printed concerning this city's colony.

If one of the twenty-five aforesaid persons should decide to leave the Society and return to this country, he shall be free to do so, provided he takes only his own personal property and leaves to the Society the undivided land, cattle, and other common property, so the other Colonists can effect the aforesaid repayment. The transportation costs of such an individual shall be paid by the Society from the common treasury as a compensation to him for his labor.

And if any person should decide to move elsewhere at his own expense and retain or sell his share in the common stock, he shall be free to do so, provided he has someone to replace him, or he sells to someone whom the Society will approve and who will participate and help in common activities.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 177. The above is in part the writer's translation from the *Groot Memorial Register* #50, pp. 79, 80, in the Gemeente-Archief van Amsterdam.

The aforesaid Society and each member thereof shall further abide in all matters by the aforesaid printed laws, the interpretation of which remains the prerogative of the Burgomasters of this city.

In testimony whereof, we—the Burgomasters and Magistrates aforesaid—affix the seal of this city to these presents, the 9th of June, 1662

Signed Wigbolt Slicher

Having a seal impressed in Green Wax

It took Plockhoy almost a year to get underway. The factors responsible for the delay are important to the history of the Zwaanendael settlement.

In the first place, the original London project called for many more than twenty-five members; and Plockhoy desired to enlist many more before embarking. This called forth the prospectus mentioned above, entitled *Kort en Klaer Ontwerp* (Brief and Concise Plan),[21] the specific purpose of which was the enlistment of prospective settlers who were in sympathy with the philosophy and purpose of the enterprise. The prospectus was a sixteen-page quarto-pamphlet including (1) a copy of the contract above, (2) a sonnet by the Dutch poet, Karel ver Loove, upon the maxim, "union makes strength," (3) Plockhoy's scheme for the establishment of an ideal Commonwealth, which was almost the same as his London plan, (4) another poem by the Dutch poet, Jacob Steendam, entitled "Spurring Verses," indicating the intention of spurring on friends of the project,[22] and (5) a final statement that those desiring to join the society should be prepared to depart by the middle of September. From the latter statment, it is evident the prospectus was published and circulated between the 9th of June, 1662 (the completion of the contract) and the middle of September of the same year (the tentative date of departure.)

A second factor which delayed the project was the construction of an adequate framework of government for the settlement. The contract had given the members the privilege of adopting their own laws so long as they didn't conflict with those of Holland. In Part 3 of the *Kort en Klaer Ontwerp,* Plockhoy stated:

[21] Pieter Cornelisz. Plockhoy, *Brief and Concise Plan intended to be a mutual agreement to lighten the labor, anxiety, and difficulty of all kinds of handicraftsmen by the establishment of a community or common company (under the protection of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands, and especially under the favorable authority of the Worshipful Magistracy of the city of Amsterdam) on the South River in New Netherland; comprising agricultural workers, mariners, men of all necessary trades, and masters of good arts and sciences; and depending upon the privileges granted by the said Right Worshipful to that end, as hereinafter set forth.* (Amsterdam, 1662).

[22] A translation of this poem and others by Steendam are found in Henry C. Murphy, *Anthology of New Netherland.* (New York: The Bradford Club, 1865), pp. 68-75. Steendam and Ver Loove were associated with Plockhoy in a society of poets which was similar to a Collegiant group. (Hylkema, *op. cit.,* pp. 102-106.)

First, in order that this mutual society (in which all shall have their property and house separate) will be subject to a general authority without being oppressed by a single individual, everyone shall have freedom to express his ideas of the laws which are made, or amend them with unanimous approval or with at least a two-thirds majority of the votes.

Plockhoy's tentative outline of government in the form of 117 articles, with the ensuing amendments, were published in an 84 page collection entitled *Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants. . . .*[23] Since the contributors to this work remained anonymous, a statement concerning Plockhoy's authorship of the "requests, representations, and deductions" contained therein is necessary.

J. Romeyn Brodhead discovered the publication in Holland when he was collecting in European archives materials relating to New York's early history. He and E. B. O'Callaghan, who were very familiar with all the Dutch publications in that relation, associated Plockhoy's settlement with the articles of government in the *Kort Verhael.*[24] Although G. M. Asher differed with Brodhead and O'Callaghan,[25] Asher, whose study was admittedly very cursory, was erroneous in most respects of his arguments:

(1) Asher argued that the Plockhoy company (based on the *Kort en Klaer Ontwerp)* was to consist of only 25 families; that of the *Kort Verhael* of not less than 100. On the contrary, this argument becomes one of the best to prove that they both emanated from the same source, for Asher obviously overlooked Plockhoy's marginal statement in the former writing in this relation: "These conditions—the 25 people and 2,500 guilders on loan to buy tools and other equipment—are only a beginning to enable the Colony to get started. We hope that the Honorable Burgomasters and the 36 Councillors will extend their loan for the continuation of their colony in New Netherlands; that is, to *100 men* [italics mine], 4,000 rijksdaalders [10,000 guilders], which will enable us to embark with at least 100 capable men or families (and to be better protected against the savages.)" This statement shows that both publications described a settlement of a desired minimum membership of 100.

[23] *Brief Account of New Netherlands' Situation, Advantages, Natural Qualities, and Peculiar Suitability for colonization; together with some requests, representatives, deductions, etc., presented for that purpose by some interested persons at different times about the end of the year 1661 to the Burgomasters of this city or to their Deputies, etc.,* (1662), pp. 27-67.

[24] Brodhead, pp. 698, 699; E. B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland,* Vol. II. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1845), pp. 966-969.

[25] G. M. Asher, *A Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets Relating to New Netherland.* (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1868), pp. 207, 208.

(2) "The name of Cornelis Plockhoy," Asher continued, "is not mentioned in the *Kort Verhael,* and the important Requesten and Vertooghen, containing the fundamental Articles of the Kort Verhael Company, are all signed H.V.Z.M." This difference between the two might be explained in that Plockhoy always wrote for others in his writings. One of his letters to Oliver Cromwell was signed "Peter Cornelius, V. Z. (together with some others) lovers of the common good," and the *Kòrt en Klaer Ontewerp* itself was signed by Plockhoy "for himself and other lovers of Nieuneder-land." Asher admitted that one person alone wrote the Requesten and Vertooghen, and he stated further that that one person was a Mennonite.

(3) The Plockhoy plan, stated Asher, was based on communistic principles; the *Kort Verhael* "speaks nowhere of such an intention." This argument is ill-founded. The former was based on the same ideas of equality and individuality as was the *Kort Verhael;* both writings described a co-operative settlement. The difference between the two is that the former is primarily socio-economic in essence, the latter primarily political.

(4) "The election of a chief," Asher argued, "is one of the express articles of the Plockhoy-manifesto; the entirely opposite principle, that no member is to have a constitutional pre-eminence, is enounced in the *Kort Verhael.*" Plockhoy's appeal for equality was manifest in both writings, as was the provision for a chief. Asher obviously overlooked the latter provision in the *Kort Verhael,* which is very explicit in Article 15: "Furthermore, everyone of the voting members will, according to his best knowledge, elect as head of the colony the one whom he considers the most prominent in ability and intelligence. The voting will be done on ballots rolled up."

(5) Asher's final argument was that "the conditions granted to Plockhoy on the 9th of June, 1662, containing the engagement of the city of Amsterdam to grant free passage to the emigrants, and a hundred guilders besides to each family, are nowhere mentioned in the *Kort Verhael.*" They were naturally not mentioned since the latter contained the addresses to the Amsterdam Burgomasters during the latter part of 1661. Even though Plockhoy's date of departure was set at the middle of September, 1662, and the *Kort Verhael* was printed in October, 1662, we know for fact that he didn't embark until the Spring of 1663.

The belated appearance of the *Kort Verhael* indicates, perhaps, that he had not enlisted enough people. The prospectus was issued

in the faith that the provisions of the contract would be extended to additional settlers, which assumption was perhaps unwarranted: and like he had done in England to "awaken the public spirits," he published the various addresses to the magistrates.

Actually, there are many similarities in the two writings which would substantiate a common origin. Both exclude sectarian ministers, strive for equality, combine religious services with public council meetings, exclude certain classes of incompatible persons, declare the governor ineligible for re-election, and contain the provision for conscientious objectors to pay a tax in lieu of military service.

The latter provision was one which evidently caused some suspicion and hesitancy on the part of the nonresistant and pacifist Mennonites. It read:[26a]

> The Mennonites, etc., or all those who could not conscientiously do so [carry arms for protection] should in relation to this regulation, and also in relation to guard and other military service, pay a certain tax, if the community would desire, or if a majority vote would so indicate.

That the Mennonites secured exemption from all obligations in this relation is evident in an amendment:[26b]

> Art. 41. *The Mennonites, etc.* If there is one defenseless among every seven men, the latter will be sufficient to protect the Society; but so that nobody will feign himself to be defenseless as on the matter of guard, this feign of defenselessness in that place shall be counted more serious than here in this country.

The result of this and several other compromises in the original framework of government resulted in a Constitution which was remarkable in content.[26c] The Commonwealth was to be governed by its members: the powers therein were to be separated into legislative, executive, and judicial branches; representation was to be on the basis of population; new laws were to be enacted by a majority of the legislators and a quorum of the legislators was necessary to conduct business; and there was to be a single executive, elected by the people, who should approve all new laws. Perhaps the most striking provision was the one prohibiting slavery in the settlement.

26a *Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants,* p. 53.

26b *Ibid.,* p. 36.

26c O'Callaghan, (*op. cit.,* pp. 966-969,) discusses these articles of government in detail.

The number of people that finally agreed to emigrate is not definite,[27] but the number was far short of Plockhoy's dreams. The group, at any rate, sailed in the ship, *St. Jacob,* shortly after the 5th of May, 1663—more than a year after the petition from the twenty-five Mennonite families was approved—according to the invoice of goods of the ship, a pertinent part of which follows:[28]

> 5th of May, 1663, at Amsterdam
> Invoice of goods shipped in the ship, "St. Jacob," skipper, Peter Lucas van der Goes, destined to go to New Amstel on the South river of New Netherland. Peter Cornelissen Plockhooy takes along for himself and his family—all kinds of necessaries and small articles for his own use, as for agricultural purposes and clothing, etc., also 2 half bags of hops, guns for his people, ...

The *St. Jacob* arrived at New Amstel on July 28th, 1663, having left "41 souls with their baggage and farm utensils at the Horekil,"[29] also called Zwaanendael (valley of swans). Since Plockhoy was to have settled at the Horekil, his people undoubtedly were the forty-one souls referred to.[30]

On August 27, 1664, (old style) the Dutch lost New Netherland to the English; and the following month Sir Robert Carr proceeded to reduce and destroy the forts and colonies on the Delaware.[31] A later account of the campaign contained the statement that Carr "destroyed the quaking society of Plockhoy to a naile."[32] One scant piece of information remains concerning the brief existence of the settlement. One of its members had written to the city of Amsterdam stating that the Indians at the Horekil "had declared they never sold the Dutch any land to inhabit."[33] It seems apparent that Plockhoy encountered nothing but difficulty and heartache at the very outset of the establishment of his Commonwealth of love and equality.[34]

[27] Francis Vincent states the number was thirty-five men. *A History of the State of Delaware.* (Philadelphia: John Campbell, 1870), p. 393. The source for this information is not stated. This would have included few more than the original 25 Mennonite families.

[28] *New York Colonial Documents,* Vol. XII, pp. 428, 429.

[29] *Ibid.,* pp. 436, 437.

[30] C. H. B. Turner makes this assumption. *Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware.* (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, 1909), p. 6f.

[31] Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History,* Vol. III. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), p. 62.

[32] *New York Colonial Documents,* Vol. III, op. cit., p. 342.

[33] *Loc. cit.*

[34] V. F. Calverton states authoritatively: "Once the group had arrived in America and become oriented, it swiftly divorced itself from Plockhoy's communist dream. Like the Plymouth group, it adopted a general economy of a co-operative character for a three-year period. After the three years had elapsed, property was no longer held in common, the general storehouse was given up, and all the rest of the co-operative features of the colony were gradually relinquished. Education, however, remained free

The change from New Netherland to New York was made with little bloodshed, "and even that minimum might have been avoided had Carr been less impetuous on the Delaware."[35] Carr's procedure was entirely at odds with the Duke of York's instructions that the people were to be treated with "humanity and gentleness."[36] Had Carr been less destructive, it is probable the settlement at Zwaanendael would have left a greater imprint in the colonial history of America, for the English government proceeded to pursue a liberal policy in relation to the conquered Dutch peoples. As it is, there remains no record of the fate of the members of the colony, save Plockhoy himself. "History throws no light on the subject, and of contemporary documents there are none."[37] Some believe they were sold as slaves in the southern colonies.[38] Perhaps they found their way back to Holland. It is most likely they became lost in the shuffle and confusion of the change in administration. If we knew the names of any of them, which we do not, we could doubtless find traces of their continued existence in the neighborhood of the Delaware, as we have of Plockhoy.

The latter seemingly claimed a plot of ground in the new English town of Lewes, near the original site of his settlement, and built a temporary dwelling place for himself and his wife.[39] Later, he petitioned for legal ownership of the lot. The court acted on January 9th, 1682:[40]

> Upon the peticon of Cornelis Plockhoy the Court Grant unto him the Towne Lott that he live upon in Lewis [Lewes] ; and the Lott next Adjoyning to that; on Condition that he build a dwelling house on Eche of the said Lotts according to the demencons that the Governor shall order, within one

for everybody, and no form of ecclesiastical taxation was allowed." *The Awakening of America.* (New York: John Day Co., 1939), p. 187.

Calverton unfortunately, does not state the source for this information. The writer has been unable to find such information. Calverton states erroneously that the colony lasted for three years: it existed for perhaps fifteen months at the most.

[35] C. M. Andrews, *op. cit.,* p. 70.

[36] *Ibid.,* p. 98.

[37] Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches.* (Philadelphia: Robert A. Tripple, 1883), p. 50.

[38] This would be corroborated by Stuyvesant's statement concerning the English invasion of the Delaware: "At New Amstel on the South River, notwithstanding they offered no resistance, but demanded good treatment, which however they did not obtain, they were invaded, stript bare, plundered, and many of them sold as slaves in Virginia." *New York Colonial Documents,* Vol. XI, pp. 230, 231.

[39] The Federal Writers' Project, *Delaware* (New York: The Viking Press, 1938), p. 196 contains the statement: "Cornelis Plockhoy later swore allegiance to the English, and in 1680 a lot was granted to him in this town where 'he already has a house.'" The latter clause is seemingly a direct quotation from an original source, which the writer has been unable to locate.

[40] *Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware, op. cit.,* p. 87. It is well to remember that dates in English documents of this period were expressed in the Old Style, while the Dutch had adopted the reformed Calendar in 1582 and employed the New Style.

yeare after this Grant; or Else to pay five pounds to the use of the publick for Eache Lott; and Lose his Lotts also.

And on the 28th of May, 1683, he declared allegiance to England, and became a citizen thereof:[41]

This day John Kiphaven, Alexander Moulston, Halmanias Wiltbanck, Cornelis Verhoofe, Cornelis Johnson, Francis Henry, Cornelis Plockhoy, Anthony Hamen (Hancen?) Alias Haverla, haveing publicquely in open Court solmonly promised and declared in the presence of God Alleaigance to the King of England, his heires and successors; and fidelity to William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the provience of Pensylvania & Territories thereunto belonging and to his heires & successors; After which the Governor declared all of them to be Naterallized and as free men of this Government as any English men. [Punctuation mine]

Ten years later, Plockhoy and his wife appeared in Germantown where they became public charges. Perhaps having grown old and blind, he was unable to fulfill his obligations in Lewes, and lost his land. And as an only resort, he turned to his fellow Mennonites, who had just recently established the Germantown settlement, for assistance. His petition was not in vain. The Germantown Court records show that he was treated sympathetically:[42]

3rd Session. 25th Day of the 11th Month, 1694/5.

To the blind man, Cornelis Plockhoy, is granted the citizenship free of charge; and is granted permission to reside at the end of the village on the street from Peter Clever's corner upon a lot one rod broad and twelve rods long whereon shall be built a house with a garden which shall be his as long as he and his wife are living, but upon their death the property with all improvements shall return to the community. It is further decreed that Jan Doeden and Willem Rittenhuysen shall have charge of the building of the house.

9th Session. 26th Day of the 1st Month.

At the end of the Session, the business brought up by Peter Clever was discussed, which concerned Wm. Streyper, who gave an acre of his land to Cornelis Plockhoy for as long as he and his wife are living. Trees shall be planted around the house; and after they have died or have moved, the property shall be evaluated by an impartial committee, its worth determined, and sold. Half shall go to the Community, and half to Wm. Streyper; and the latter shall have the right to reclaim the land.

After perhaps eighty years of life Pieter Cornelis Plockhoy died peacefully among his own people. Although he spent his life trying to assist the downtrodden and the poor he finally fared worse than those he had attempted to help. The rule of his life, as he stated, was the command of Christ, "If any among you would be

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

[42] *The Germantown Rathbuch.* The original, in old German script, is preserved in the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

greatest, let him be servant of all."[43] What must impress all who read his writings is his sincerity. "For which end," he wrote, "that we may transmit the world unto our posterity in a better condition than we first found it, I have contributed this little . . . ."[44]

What recognition may hereafter be awarded his career cannot be foretold. His efforts resulted in what the world called failure, and for 200 years he had slept in the greatest obscurity. Yet when we compare him with his contemporaries, with the courtiers, Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir William Berkeley, with Cotton Mather, inciting the magistrates to hang old women for imaginary crimes, and see him wrestling with Cromwell, not for his own gain, but for the help of the downtrodden and the poor, teaching the separation of the Church and the State, protesting against injuring the minds of children by dogma, and with so clear a sense of justice that even the vicious, when driven from the community, were to receive their share of the possessions, we cannot help but recognize his merit and intelligence, and feel for him that sympathy that makes us all akin. When we find him, first of all the colonizers of America, so long ago as 1662, announcing the broad principle that "no lordship or servile slavery shall burden our company," he seems to grow into heroic proportions. Whatever else may happen, certain it is that the events of the life of one whose work marks the very beginning of the literature and history of ten millions of people who now live in the States along the Zuid River must always be of keen interest to them and to their descendants.[45]

[43] *A Way Propounded to Make the Poor in these and other Nations Happy, op. cit.*, p. 1.

[44] *The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations, op. cit.*, p. 27.

[45] Samuel W. Pennypacker, Pennsylvania-German Society *Proceedings,* Vol. IX, p. 263.

Down South America Way, By SANFORD CALVIN YODER. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1943. Pp. 148. $1.00.

In the summer of 1940 the author of this volume was commissioned by the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, of which he had been secretary for many years, to visit the Mennonite mission field in Argentina. He was also asked by the Mennonite Central Committee to include a visit to the Mennonite colonies in Paraguay, in which the author and the Mission Board were also interested because of aid the Board was giving to the Indian mission work of the Chaco Mennonites and because of the interest in the possibility of starting mission work in Asuncion. In this small volume the author's purpose is

"to share with the reader in this small way, the experiences of the trip with the hope that this knowledge may inspire a greater interest in our neighbors who live in the land to the south and that out of this may grow a better understanding of the problems of the Argentine and Paraguayan churches and may bring to them a larger and more substantial support in prayer, in sympathy, and where needed in material means."

This volume should contribute to this end.

The report of the trip is divided almost equally as between Argentina and Paraguay. There are chapters on the journey to and from South America, on Argentina—the land, its products, its people, glimpses here and there, and other chapters entitled: "With the Redeemed in Argentina," "Mennonite Institutions in Argentina," "On to Paraguay," "The Land Between the Nations," "The Faith of the Mennonites in Paraguay," "Into the Chaco," "Out of Great Tribulation," "Day by Day in the Chaco," and "Auf Wiedersehen."

The author had visited Argentina twenty years earlier when the Mennonite mission work there was only a few years old. He was therefore able to note the growth that had been made in the meantime. At the time of the second visit there were twenty-five missionaries, six Argentine pastors, besides many Sunday School teachers and workers engaged in carrying on the work in the various churches and mission stations. Over a half thousand names were on the register of the church, and close to a thousand were being reached each Sunday through the Sunday School.

On the trip to Paraguay the author was accompanied by Nelson Litwiller, Mennonite missionary in Argentina. Paraguay is the home of thousands of Mennonites, some of whom came from Canada and Russia after World War I, and others after World War II. This part of the journey was largely for the purpose of visiting those Mennonites there at the time, especially those who had come as refugees from Communist Russia around 1930 and who have been the special interest of the Mennonite Central Committee. The author writes interestingly and sympathetically of the progress and problems of these people who have started life anew on one of America's last frontiers—the Paraguayan Chaco. He was not able to visit the smaller Friesland colony in East Paraguay.

The work is not intended as an exhaustive or critical history, and occasionally there is an inaccurate statement on the historical phases. But these are few and, in light of the purpose, of minor consequence. The author's typically easy and interesting style, which at times transforms his prose almost into poetry, makes his book a delight to read, especially to one who has been over the same ground and who shares his interest in, and appreciation for, the Mennonites in South America, as well as all the Latins themselves.

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